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ABSTRACT

The dominant social, political, and economic aspects of Ghanaian society are described in this handbook. Changes and developments in Ghana in the past 10 years, highlighted by the 1966 overthrough and widespread repudiation of Kwame Nkrumah and his policies and practices, have created a need for this revision of the 1962 edition. The purpose of this and other area handbooks in the series is to provide objective information on the present society and possible future changes. Chapters titles are: General Character of the Society; Physical Environment and Population; Historical Setting; Ethnic Groups and Languages; Social System; Living Conditions; Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences; The Governmental System; Political Dynamics and Values; Foreign Political and Economic Relations; Character and Structure of the Economy; and, National Security. Additional features are: statistical tables, charts, and maps; a data summary; glossary, index, and bibliographies for this and the 1962 editions. Related documents are: SO 002 053 through SO 002 058, SO 002 248, and SO 002 249. (Author/DJB)

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# AREA HANDBOOK
for
GHANA

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Co-Authors
Irving Kaplan
James L. McLaughlin
Barbara J. Marvin
Philip W. Moeller
Harold D. Nelson
Donald P. Whitaker

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political, and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. An extensive bibliography is provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations, and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive, or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to:

The Director
Foreign Area Studies
The American University
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

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PREFACE

The political, economic, and social changes and developments in Ghana have been so great since the research and writing of the 1962 edition of the *Area Handbook for Ghana* were completed that a thoroughly revised second edition is now presented to bring up to date the material about a country and society of continuing importance in West Africa.

The first edition (1962) was published five years after the country, led by Kwame Nkrumah, had achieved its independence and less than two years after it had become a republic. By 1966 Nkrumah's policies and practices were repudiated by most Ghanaians, and a coup d' etat established a group of military officers as the country's temporary rulers. The military group (the National Liberation Council) gave way in the last half of 1969 to a civilian government operating under a new constitution.

This revised handbook, in a shorter and somewhat different form from that of the first edition, seeks to provide a compact and objective exposition of the dominant social, political, and economic aspects of Ghanaian society. It is designed to give the reader an understanding of the forces operating in the society. There remain, however, a number of gaps in information to which attention has been called.

The spelling of place names generally follows *Ghana: Official Standard Names Gazetteer No. 102* of the United States Board on Geographic Names. Names of ethnic groups and languages conforms to usage in the *1960 Population Census of Ghana; Special Report "E": Tribes of Ghana,* with a few exceptions (for example, Ashanti rather than Asante) where other usage has been well established.

The *Area Handbook for Ghana* published in 1962 was prepared by a research team made up of Donald M. Bouton, Neda A. Franges, John Hartley, Barbara Lent, and Thomas D. Roberts under the chairmanship of Norman C. Walpole.

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. COUNTRY: Republic of Ghana; formerly British colony of the Gold Coast; date of independence, March 6, 1957; capital, Accra.

2. GOVERNMENT: Constitution of 1969 classifies country as unitary republic with president as titular head of state. Government is parliamentary in form, with separation of powers into executive, legislative, and judicial branches; executive acts taken in name of president, but actual executive power vested in prime minister responsible to popularly elected unicameral National Assembly. Independence of judiciary established and protected by constitutional guarantees. Government organization has numerous checks and balances to prevent recurrence of Nkrumah-type regime.

3. JUSTICE: Five levels of courts: Superior Court of Judicature includes Supreme Court, Court of Appeal, and High Court of Justice, which has divisions located in each of eight regional capitals and Accra; inferior court system includes circuit courts in each of seven judicial districts, and Grade I and Grade II district courts; juvenile courts at district level. Legal system based on 1969 Constitution, parliamentary enactments, inherited British common law, assimilated customary law.

4. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: Eight regions divided into forty-seven districts and hundreds of local authority units, including cities, municipalities, and sparsely populated rural areas. Districts and local units administered by councils, partly elected and partly appointed by traditional authorities.

5. POPULATION: 1970 census (preliminary figure), 8,545,561; estimated annual growth rate, 3 percent; urban population, nearly 24 percent. Ethnic composition more than 99.5 percent African, divided into about 100 groups and categorized in part by language into a small number of subfamilies. Southern half of country chiefly Akan, 44 percent; Ewe, 13 percent; Ga-Adangbe, 8 percent; Guan, 4 percent; Central Togo, 1 percent. Northern half mainly Mole-Dagbane, 14 percent; Gurma, 4 percent; Grusi, 2 percent; others, about 10 percent.

6. SIZE: 92,100 square miles.

7. TOPOGRAPHY: Five geographic regions: low plains on Gulf of Guinea, succeeded northward by highlands (average elevation 500 to 1,000 feet with plateau section 1,500 feet);

large central Volta River basin, averaging under 500 to 700 feet; dissected plateau in north 500 to 1,000 feet. On the east, mountain range with high points over 2,900 feet.

8. CLIMATE: Tropical; mean temperature 79°F. to 84°F.; humid in south throughout year and in north from April to October. Rainfall decreases northward, from over eighty inches to forty inches. Climatic variations governed by interaction of moist southwest monsoon, dry northeast trade winds, and high equatorial easterlies. Two rainy seasons in south (about May to June and September to November), with relatively dry interseason; single rainy season in north (about April to October) with hot, dry season November to March.

9. LANGUAGES: Of many idigenous languages and dialects, principal southern languages are Twi-Fante (spoken by most Akan), Ewe, and Ga. Principal northern language is Dagbane. Most principal languages have scripts. English is used for government affairs, education, mass communication. Literacy in English required for parliamentary office and most government jobs.

10. RELIGION: Of adult population, about 43 percent Christians, 12 percent Muslims; rest adhere to traditional religions. Practice of Christianity or Islam does not preclude participation in traditional rituals. Christianity more widespread in south; Islam, mainly in north.

11. EDUCATION: In 1969/70 school year almost 1.5 million students in school through secondary level. Of these, about 1 million in primary schools; over 400,000 in middle schools; and remaining 75,000 in secondary schools, teacher training colleges, technical and vocational schools. Three institutions of higher education with 4,800 students. Education compulsory at first level and free except for fixed fee for textbooks, supplies. Literacy rate estimated at 25 percent in late 1960s.

12. HEALTH: Major prevalent diseases include malaria, gastroenteric and parasitic infections, yaws, tuberculosis, leprosy, sleeping sickness, and venereal diseases; health problems complicated by nutritional deficiencies, disease-carrying insects, water pollution, and poor sanitation practices.

13. ECONOMY: Predominantly private enterprise economy based on agricultural production, primarily of basic foodstuffs. Monetary earnings derived mainly from export of cocoa beans, which account for almost one-third of world's total production, and from tropical hardwoods and minerals. Main agricultural products besides cocoa are cassava, yams, plantains, maize (corn), and sorghum. Nonfood agricultural products include shea nuts, coconuts, palm kernels, palm oil, coffee, and rubber. Nkrumah regime attempted to achieve rapid industrial

growth after independence, but acute financial problems led to stagnation of industrial and agricultural production in mid-1960s; heavy foreign debt was a major problem. In 1970 government policy stressed development of independent agriculture and sought growth at reasonable rate with participation of foreign capital. Major industries were aluminum smelting, mining, lumbering, light manufacturing.

14. PRINCIPAL EXPORTS: Cocoa, about 60 percent; tropical hardwoods, 13 percent; aluminum; gold; diamonds.

15. PRINCIPAL IMPORTS: Machinery and transportation equipment, manufactured products, foodstuffs.

16. CURRENCY: Monetary unit is new cedi (N₵1 equals US$0.98); divided into new pesewas (NP).

17. COMMUNICATIONS: Posts and telecommunications government operated. In 1969, 54,800 telephone lines (108,470 telephones, including extensions); automatic dialing between important towns. International telecommunication services to all parts of the world (via London for places outside Africa).

18. RAILROADS: In 1970 over 590 route miles and total trackage of over 790 miles; located entirely in south, connecting Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi; short branches to other economically important places. Total traffic in 1969: 1.5 million metric tons of freight and 7.5 million passengers.

19. INLAND WATERWAYS: River navigation affected by numerous rapids and used mostly for local transportation. Transportation system under development on Lake Volta in 1970.

20. PORTS: Two modern man-made ports at Takoradi and Tema; no natural harbors. In 1969 about 5.5 million metric tons in 1,835 ships cleared these two ports; more than half the tonnage passed through Takoradi.

21. ROADS: In 1970 about 20,100 miles of roads of which over 2,000 miles had bitumen surface and 1,400, graveled surface. Trunk roads, less than 6,000 miles. Road net rather dense in south and generally adequate; more open net in central and northern parts, but most centers connected by fairly good roads.

22. CIVIL AVIATION: International airport at Accra; major domestic facilities at Kumasi, Takoradi, and Tamale; minor airports in other areas. Domestic services provided by government-owned Ghana Airways; international services by Ghana Airways and seventeen international airlines in 1969. Passengers in 1969 totaled more than 121,000; air freight totaled about 2.2 million pounds.

23. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AGREEMENTS: A republic within British Commonwealth of Nations; member

of Organization of African Unity (OAU), United Nations and its various specialized agencies, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Association for International Development, African Development Bank, West African Examinations Council. In early 1971 considering economic association with Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Togo, Dahomey, Niger, and proposed West African economic community; being considered for associate membership by European Economic Community (EEC). Military training assistance agreements with United Kingdom and Canada; bilateral trade agreements with various east European countries.

24. ARMED FORCES: British trained, Western equipped, with total strength of approximately 16,000. Army of about 14,000, organized chiefly as infantry; includes airborne unit. Air force of about 1,000, equipped with less than 100 aircraft, including light and medium transports, helicopters, liaison planes, conventional trainers, several jet trainers capable of armed ground attack operations; most equipment of Western origin. Navy of nearly 1,000 equipped with patrol boats, corvettes, coastal minesweepers. British trained, Western equipped national police force, with total strength of approximately 18,000; being expanded to about 20,000.

GHANA

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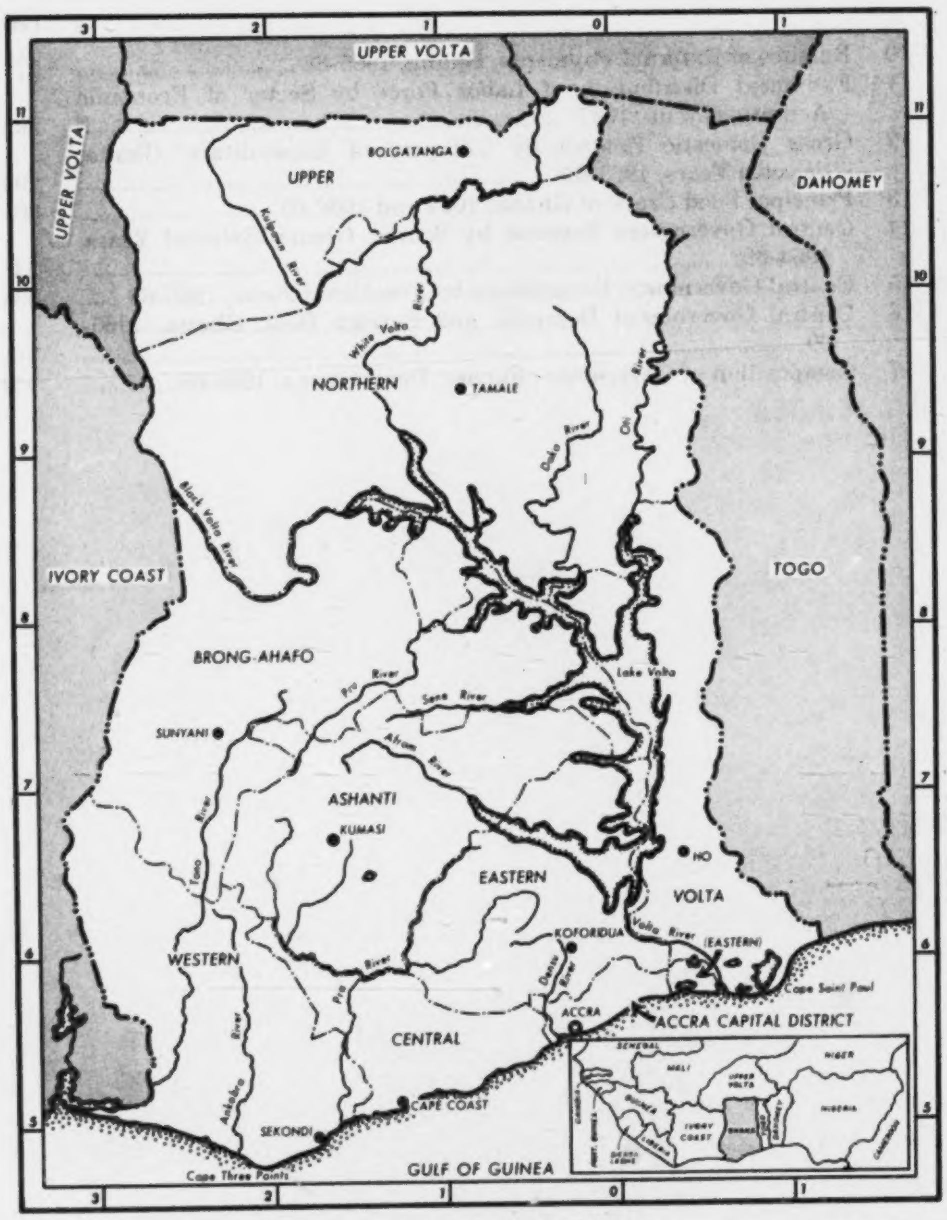
UPPER VOLTA
UPPER VOLTA
DAHOMEY
IVORY COAST
TOGO
UPPER
BOLGATANGA
Kulpawn River
White Volta River
NORTHERN
TAMALE
Daka River
Oti River
Black Volta River
BRONG-AHAFO
SUNYANI
Pru River
Sene River
Lake Volta
Afram River
ASHANTI
KUMASI
Tano River
EASTERN
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KOFORIDUA
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(EASTERN)
Densu River
Cape Saint Paul
ACCRA
ACCRA CAPITAL DISTRICT
WESTERN
Pra River
Ankobra River
CENTRAL
CAPE COAST
SEKONDI
Cape Three Points
GULF OF GUINEA
SENEGAL
MALI
UPPER VOLTA
NIGER
GAMBIA
GUINEA
PORT. GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
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Figure 1. The Republic of Ghana

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The Republic of Ghana, an English-speaking nation covering an area of slightly more than 92,000 square miles, lies on the Gulf of Guinea on the west coast of Africa just a few degrees north of the equator. With minor exceptions, the country has no natural boundaries with its French-speaking neighbors, the Ivory Coast to the west, Upper Volta to the north, and Togo to the east.

About half of the country is less than 500 feet above sea level, and the highest elevation of 2,900 feet is located in a low mountain range along the eastern boundary. The 334-mile coastline skirting the Gulf of Guinea is largely a low sandy stretch, backed by low plains and intersected by several rivers and small streams.

Inland the low plain is succeeded by the Ashanti Uplands. A belt of tropical forest generally covers both areas. Across the uplands, the land slopes downward into the savannas of the large central Volta Basin, which includes Lake Volta, whose 3,300-square-mile area makes it the world's largest manmade lake. Beyond the basin a low plateau extends toward the country's northern border.

The soil and rainfall patterns over much of the area south of the Volta Basin are ideal for certain types of farming, particularly the principal crop of cocoa. In the basin, however, much of the land is poor and is covered with tall elephant grass and short African grasses of little agricultural value.

The climate resembles that of other equatorial countries. The southern forested belt is warm and humid, and the central and northern savannas are comparatively hot and dry. In the south there are two rainy seasons, separated by a short and fairly dry period in July and August and a longer dry season from December to February. In the north a single rainy season is followed by a hot, dry period from November to March.

Preliminary data based on the 1970 census placed the population—predominantly young—at about 8.5 million. With an average density of about 93 persons per square mile, the country is not overpopulated, but the annual growth rate of about 3 percent and continued high fertility and declining mortality rates indicate that the population—if the growth rate is unchecked—could double in slightly more than twenty years (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

According to tradition, most present-day Ghanaians are descended not from the area's earliest inhabitants but rather from migrating ethnic groups, the first of which probably came down the Volta River in the early thirteenth century. The 1960 census listed approximately 100 ethnic divisions distinguishable by linguistic or other cultural differences. Although English is the official national language, all of the various ethnic groups also speak languages of the great Niger-Congo language family and share cultural traits of West African agricultural societies (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

No part of the country is ethnically unmixed, but broad categorizations based on linguistic and institutional similarities tend to group the peoples into northern and southern divisions. Most ethnic groups in the south speak languages of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family and have been influenced by Western education and Christianity. In the north most of the groups speak languages associated with the Gur branch and have been influenced by Islam. Of the total adult population, about 43 percent are Christians, and 12 percent are Muslims; the rest profess no particular religion, although a large number adhere to traditional religious practices.

The structure of the Ghanaian social system is a mixture of traditional and modern institutions (see ch. 5, Social System). The numerous traditional ethnic societies based on kinship, customary law, local chiefs, and small-scale agriculture coexist with a developing modern system of national scope based on statutory law, parliamentary government, and progressive education. The majority of the people live primarily in the traditional system, and only a small proportion of social action occurs within the modern social system. The modern system's influence is disproportionately larger than its membership; many Ghanaians participate to some degree in both systems.

There is no major pressure on productive land area despite the fact that about 70 percent of the inhabitants live in the southern half of the country, especially along the coast. The greatest population concentration is found in the triangular area formed by the cities of Accra, Takoradi, and Kumasi, where densities have been estimated at more than 200 persons per square mile. Economic factors have brought about this heavy concentration; the area includes most of the country's known mineral deposits, cocoa-producing regions, port facilities, and limited industrial capacity. Relatively high densities are also found in the northeast and northwest because of favorable agricultural conditions (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

Approximately three-fourths of the people live in rural communities, but significant migrations from rural areas to urban centers have occurred continuously since independence. Migrant workers annually move from the north to the centers of employment in the south, and the urban population is growing rapidly.

Known formerly as the Gold Coast, the country's name at independence in 1957 was changed to that of the ancient sub-Saharan empire of Ghana, which flourished during the Middle Ages. Modern Ghana's existence as a political entity, however, derives largely from divisions made during its colonial era rather than from the number of small ethnic kingdoms of purely African heritage that were established before the arrival of the Europeans (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The first contact between Europe and the Gold Coast occurred in the late fifteenth century when a party of Portuguese landed and subsequently established a small trading base on the southern coast. During the next three centuries the English, Danes, Dutch, Germans, and Portuguese established control over various segments of the coastal region. A number of these groups used the small footholds to facilitate their participation in the lucrative West African slave trade.

Ultimately, only Great Britain came to exercise control over any major portion of the area. British rule was confined to a few coastal settlements until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain began to expand its control into the interior, initially to ensure peaceful relations with the local chiefs.

Somewhat later the British took steps to protect their coastal colony when its security was threatened by a long series of conflicts with the most powerful of the inland kingdoms, the Ashanti. In 1901 the British succeeded in gaining formal control over the Ashanti and in turning the Northern Territories into a protectorate. In 1922 the British attained supervision over part of a former German colonial holding through a League of Nations mandate. Subsequently known as British Togoland, this eastern holding became a United Nations Trust Territory in 1946.

During the colonial period the British sought to limit their administrative problems by exerting control through indirect rule, a system that imposed supervision over traditional rulers rather than the entire population. In the northern half of the country, which had limited contact with modern influences and which possessed strong traditional forms of control, the policy was politically successful. In the south, however, the visible presence of a more technologically advanced culture and its direct effect on the people militated against the policy's success. Many people were stirred by new ideas acquired in mission and colonial schools, by expanding economic opportunities, and by the desire for material improvement. With limited education and even more restrictive economic opportunities in both the modern and traditional sectors, large numbers of Africans came to resent the system that they felt fostered these inequities.

In the economically troubled period that followed World War II, the educated and modernized Africans began to voice their demands for change. In their effort they were provided leadership by men from their own ranks and by Kwame Nkrumah, who had learned the techniques of modern party policies in Great Britain and the United States. Nkrumah channeled the Africans' discontent into the highly organized Convention Peoples Party (CPP) behind a peaceful but forceful demand for a complete and rapid end to colonial rule.

The British acquiesced to the CPP's demands, and by 1954 full control over internal self-government had passed into the hands of a popularly elected African legislature dominated by the CPP, with Nkrumah as prime minister. The final march to independence was unopposed by the British, but the move drew opposition from many traditional leaders and educated Africans who were disturbed by the sudden granting of power to the CPP.

Confronted with a serious dispute that had arisen on the issue of a unitary or federal form of government for the new state, the British agreed to a firm date for independence, providing a general election was held and a reasonable majority of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly voted for sovereignty. The 1956 general elections resulted in the CPP's being returned to power with a substantial majority of seats in the legislature. On March 6, 1957, Great Britain relinquished control over its colony of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, the Northern Territories Protectorate, and British Togoland. On that date Nkrumah led his people to independence in a new state renamed Ghana, a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The new nation's history during the first nine years of sovereignty was molded largely by the will and actions of Nkrumah as he sought—with the help of the CPP—to make the country the standard bearer for his conception of pan-Africanism and a model based on his notions of African socialism. In his progress toward these goals he fostered in 1960 the adoption of a republican constitution and a presidential form of government.

As head of the government, chief of state, and founder and leader of the country's only legal political party, Nkrumah used his position to press for the realization of his ambitions. The magnitude of this goals, however, led to extraordinary expenditure without reference to the state of the Ghanaian economy. Within a relatively short time the nation's fiscal sufficiency was reduced seriously and was impaired by depressed prices on the world cocoa market, an ever-increasing foreign debt, and a growing imbalance of foreign payments. Whenever opposition arose, Nkrumah used his considerable powers to crush those who objected to his programs, using censorship, oppressive legal sanctions, and personal control over judicial procedures in a manner that gave the country many aspects of a single-party police state (see ch. 3, Historical Setting; ch. 8, The Governmental System; ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values; ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

In 1961 the armed forces and the national police service, which had been trained, equipped, and largely officered by British personnel under contract to the Ghanaian government, were suddenly Africanized. British officers were dismissed, and Nkrumah moved to accept the assistance proffered by the Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc nations. In an effort to reduce the possible threat to his political aspirations from a military establishment that followed an essentially Western ethic, he built up and gave favored support to a small personal army—the President's Own Guard Regiment—with training and equipment provided chiefly by the Soviet Union. At the same time the regular armed forces were permitted to deteriorate to a position of questionable operational viability (see ch. 12, National Security).

When the CPP's authority was challenged and criticized, Nkrumah instituted emergency measures to assure control of the Republic. The Preventive Detention Act permitted the government to detain persons without trial for up to five years and was soon amended to permit such detention to be renewed for additional five-year periods. In 1962 an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Nkrumah, and terrorist bombings occurred in Accra. In 1964 a police constable failed in a second attempt to kill the president.

On February 24, 1966, while Nkrumah was en route to Peking to mediate on his own initiative an end to the Vietnam conflict, the Ghanaian army and police service deposed him in a brief but successful coup d'etat. The president and all cabinet ministers were dismissed; the national legislature was dissolved; the constitution was suspended; the CPP was outlawed; and hundreds of political prisoners were released immediately. Nkrumah sought and was granted refuge in Guinea, where he remained in early 1971.

The new military regime cited as the principal reasons for its actions Nkrumah's flagrant abuse of individual rights and liberties; the corrupt, oppressive, and dictatorial nature of the old regime; and the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. The coup received widespread support from the Ghanaian people, who expressed support for the new military government through spontaneous demonstrations.

The leaders of the revolt quickly established the National Liberation Council (NLC) and proceeded to govern the country by decree (see ch. 8, The Governmental System). Disclaiming any intention to rule indefinitely and pledging an early return to a duly constituted civilian government, the NLC asked members of the judiciary and civil service to remain at their positions and formed committees of civil servants and military personnel to administer the affairs of government.

Given the public's reaction to the excesses of the Nkrumah period, one of the major concerns of the NLC and of the civilians—particularly the lawyers—who would eventually run for office and man the courts, was to write a constitution that would prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the incumbent of any single office. In late 1968 a representative constituent assembly was established, and in mid-1969 it approved and promulgated a new constitution. The document, which reflected many features of British and United States governmental institutions, declared that sovereignty of the unitary Republic resided in the Ghanaian people.

The Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government, with a separation of powers into three branches. The prime minister, as chief cabinet member, is the actual head of government, but executive acts are accomplished in the name of the president, who is usually advised in the performance of his duties by the prime minister, the Council of State, and various other specified bodies. The National Assembly is elected by the people, and the Constitution assumes that such elections will be contested by two or more political parties. Because Nkrumah, in the process of aggrandizing power, overrode the courts, the drafters of the Constitution were careful to stress the autonomy of the judiciary (see ch. 8, The Governmental System).

The first election under the new Constitution was held in August 1969, and the Progress Party won a preponderant majority of seats in the national legislature. The party's leader and longtime opponent of Nkrumah, K. A. Busia, became prime minister. The newly elected civilian government was installed on October 1, 1969, bringing an end to 3½ years of military rule. In August 1970 Edward Akufo-Addo, former chief justice of the Supreme Court and chairman of the commission that drafted the new Constitution, was elected president.

Political activity in early 1971 centered on a two-party system and was conducted in open contests between groups organized on a national basis. Both the ruling Progress Party and the opposition Justice Party were dedicated to preserving a democratic form of government. Constitutional guarantees of personal freedom were honored, but some conflict had arisen between the powers of the executive branch and the judiciary (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

In 1970 some criticism of the Constitution's elaborate system of checks and balances was generated by former NLC officials, and the nation's press often reflected concern that the document's preoccupation with an elaborate system of checks and balances restricted the progressive actions of the government. After the return to civilian rule, the military establishment and the national police withdrew from all positions of power, but the armed forces continued to view its role as the ultimate guarantor of just and progressive government (see ch. 8, The Governmental System; ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values; ch. 12, National Security).

During the 1950s Nkrumah made his country the foremost proponent of pan-African unity, and in the early 1960s he became involved in efforts to bring about changes of government in several other African countries (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Pan-Africanism was furthered in 1963 with the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), but Nkrumah preferred a more powerful centralizing structure through which he could dominate the continent's politics. His overthrow was a disappointment to a number of African leaders who were more interested in the benefits he had achieved for the continent than in the harm he had done his own country.

The NLC and its successor government remained firm supporters of the OAU principles but gave first priority to the needs of their own country and secondary interest to inter-African matters. On the broader world scene, while going to considerable lengths to ensure that their position was one of nonalignment with the world powers, Nkrumah's successors loosened Ghana's ties to the Communist countries and reestablished its primary orientation toward the Western democracies.

In early 1971 the government had not yet resolved its official policy on assistance to the black majorities in the remaining colonial and white-dominated countries of southern Africa. A majority of the vocal electorate and the National Assembly and a number of cabinet ministers favored continued support for liberation movements and economic sanctions. Prime Minister Busia, however, felt that these efforts, particularly those aimed at South Africa, had little chance of success. He had called instead for a dialogue with South Africa's leaders to win concessions for that country's African population.

Economically, Ghana appears to have a promising potential for long-term growth. In contrast to many less developed countries, it has a fairly well developed economic infrastructure and rich natural resources. In addition, it possesses an advantage in its well-grounded educational system, which turns out sufficient numbers of trained workers (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences). At the same time, however, its resources are not yet fully exploited, and its physical plant is operating at less than full capacity because of its burdensome financial problems and the lag in production of raw materials. The country has more trained and educated workers than most African countries, but effective manpower utilization has not yet been achieved.

The national transportation system is one of the Republic's most important elements of infrastructure. It includes airways, roads, railways, and water transport facilities (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). The railway system, of special importance in the export trade, is located entirely in the south, connecting the major cities of Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi. A number of branch lines also service points of special economic value, such as the port of Tema, the Tarkwa goldfields, and the bauxite mine at Awaso. A program of general railway rehabilitation was underway in early 1971.

The road system of about 20,000 miles varies in quality from highways surfaced with bitumen, laterite, and gravel to an extensive network of unimproved earthen roads. The road system is dense and generally adequate in the southern half of the country. In the central and northern sections roads are sparse, but most urban centers are connected by reasonably good roads. A program of highway improvement was begun in 1969 with assistance from the International Development Association.

Domestic and limited international air service is furnished by the government-owned Ghana Airways. Principal airports are located at Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi, and Tamale; a number of smaller towns maintain minor facilities to support air service by small planes. Fifteen international airlines also provide service to Accra from Europe, other parts of Africa, and the Middle East.

The country has no natural harbors capable of handling commercial shipping traffic, but it has modern manmade seaports at Takoradi and at Tema, east of Accra. Both ports have modern facilities for handling large vessels, including cargo berths and drydocks. The Takoradi seaport handles nearly 75 percent of the country's export traffic. The Republic owns and operates a steamship line, the Black Star Line Limited, which operates a fleet of sixteen vessels and provides services to the United Kingdom, Europe, Canadian Atlantic ports, the Great Lakes, eastern United States ports, and ports on the Gulf of Mexico.

Although the larger Ghanaian rivers have long been used for local transportation, the system is limited by the existence of numerous rapids. In 1970 the government was developing an inland waterway transportation system on Lake Volta.

The economy is based upon production of primary agricultural and mineral commodities (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). Ghana is the world's leading producer of cocoa, the principal cash crop. Cocoa is thought to generate directly about 15 percent of the gross domestic product in a good crop year. It furnishes the livelihood of one-third of the population and provides more than 60 percent of the country's export earnings. Revenue from cocoa production is the principal reason the Republic has long enjoyed one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa.

The sizable timber industry provides important quantities of mahogany and other tropical hardwoods and is a leading foreign exchange producer. To prevent uncontrolled denuding of the forested areas for timber and cultivation, the government has established a number of forest reserves in which the removal of trees is restricted. Fisheries are of increasing significance. Livestock raising is limited by disease and poor grazing conditions.

Mineral production ranks second in importance to agriculture (including timber) as a source of export earnings. Mineral output is concentrated largely in gold, manganese, diamonds, and bauxite.

At least 60 percent of the population is occupied in agriculture, forestry, and fishing. Laborious hand cultivation is still the farming method used, with small and often fragmented holdings and low average yields. Subsistence cultivation is less prevalent than in most developing countries, however, and cash cropping is common, particularly in the southern part of the country. A surplus of foodstuffs for market is common in most producing areas.

Despite Nkrumah's early efforts to achieve rapid industrialization, progress in this direction remains limited. The ultimate potential for growth in this sector is promising, however, because of the hydroelectric power available from the Volta River Project. The government will emphasize expanded production of agricultural materials for increased domestic manufacture. Private enterprise is the dominant sector, and since 1966 it has been encouraged by government policy, which seeks private participation in the government enterprises established during the Nkrumah period. The Capital Investment Act offers tax incentives to encourage foreign investment in new industries. Independent Ghanaian enterprise has always predominated, notably in cocoa growing and food production, and since 1968 a series of official measures have been taken to reserve medium-scale commercial enterprise for Ghanaians.

The NLC and the civilian government that succeeded it inherited acute financial difficulties generated during the Nkrumah era. Both groups pledged themselves to honor and settle these financial obligations, largely because economic growth will depend on favorable foreign economic relations. Because of the need for financial retrenchment, the annual average growth rate, which had been a low 2.6 percent from 1960 through 1966, did not exceed 2.4 percent from 1967 through 1969.

In early 1971 the country's foreign debt, in relation to its gross national product (GNP), was one of the world's highest. This factor, along with attendant problems of unemployment and inflation, remained a serious restraint on national development. Moreover, the government policy of honoring debts accumulated under Nkrumah was being sharply questioned by Ghanaians, largely because efforts to reduce the burden had not resulted in noticeable improvement of Ghana's economic position.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND POPULATION

Ghana is one of the southern tier of countries that face on the Gulf of Guinea in the great bulge of West Africa (see fig. 1). It is situated between the Republic of Togo on the east, the Ivory Coast on the west, and the Republic of Upper Volta on the north and northwest. The country lies, entirely in the tropics, just north of the point at which the Greenwich prime meridian intersects the equator.

The country's total area of 92,100 square miles is roughly rectangular in shape; east-west dimensions run between 200 and 300 miles, and the maximum north-south measurement is about 380 miles. The coast is characterized by strong surfs, which make landing difficult except at artificially constructed harbors. Average elevation is relatively low, mostly between sea level and about 1,000 feet. The highest elevation is under 3,000 feet and is located in the Akwapim-Togo Ranges along the eastern border.

Ghana experiences generally high temperatures throughout the year. Rains of some duration fall at certain parts of the year in all areas, and alternation of rainy and dry periods determines the country's seasons. Humidities also are usually high but drop substantially in the central and northern areas during the dry season. Vegetation is influenced by the rainfall and varies from tropical forest in the south to wooded savanna in the upper three-fifths of the country.

In 1970 railroads were limited to the more heavily populated south, which also had a relatively extensive road system. Other areas were served by a more open net of roads. Vehicular traffic is frequently disrupted by the condition of the roads during the rainy season. Inland waterways were of minor importance in 1970; however, Lake Volta, manmade during the latter 1960s, possessed the potential for development of an extensive water transportation system between the northern and southern parts of the country.

The population in 1970 was about 8.5 million and predominantly young. The country's fertility rate was among the highest in the world; accompanied by a high, but declining mortality rate, this was resulting in rapid population growth which, if unchecked, could bring about a doubling of the population in a little over two decades. Concerned about this rapid increase, the government in 1969 announced its intention to initiate action programs that would ultimately lower population growth to limits considered manageable.

Roughly three-quarters of the population lived in rural communities at the time of the 1960 census. The urban population, however, was growing at a considerably higher rate than the rural population, a trend that continued during the 1960s. Population distribution was not uniform. The south was more densely populated, the result of environmental factors that had created greater economic opportunities in this area, including the location of exploitable minerals and forests and soil and growing conditions favorable for the cultivation of cocoa. In contrast, the less hospitable climate and generally poorer soils of the Volta Basin in the central and more northerly part of the country have resulted in a sparsely populated area. In the far north, better soils again are accompanied by greater population densities, despite somewhat unfavorable climatic conditions.

Most of the major towns are located along the coast, where they originated as early trading centers. Other important towns are associated with mining and commercial activities in the southern area. Only one town of large size, Tamale, is found in the north. Similarly, settlements of village and hamlet size are widely spread through the south, whereas in the north they tend to concentrate along the main and secondary road net. Settlements are much the same throughout the country, with the exception of the far north, where, in contrast to the usually nucleated communities found elsewhere, extended family groups live in dispersed compounds.

GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

Five major geographical regions can be distinguished. In the southern part of the country are the low plains, part of the belt that extends along the entire coastal area of the Gulf of Guinea. To the north of these plains lie three distinct regions—the Ashanti Uplands, the Volta Basin, and the Akwapim-Togo Ranges (see fig. 2). The fifth region, the high plains, occupies the northern and northwestern parts of the country. These plains also are part of a belt stretching generally eastward and westward through West Africa.

The Low Plains

The low plains are divided into the coastal savannas, the Volta Delta, and the Akan Lowlands. The coastal savannas form a narrow strip of land along most of the southern coast from near Takoradi to the Togo border. They range in width from about five miles at their western extreme to over fifty miles in the eastern Accra Plains section. It is generally undulating country covered with grass and scrub. There is a pronounced differentiation, however, between the lagoon-fringed coastal part and the more northeastern part, the Accra Plains, which lie at the foot of the Akwapim-Togo Ranges.

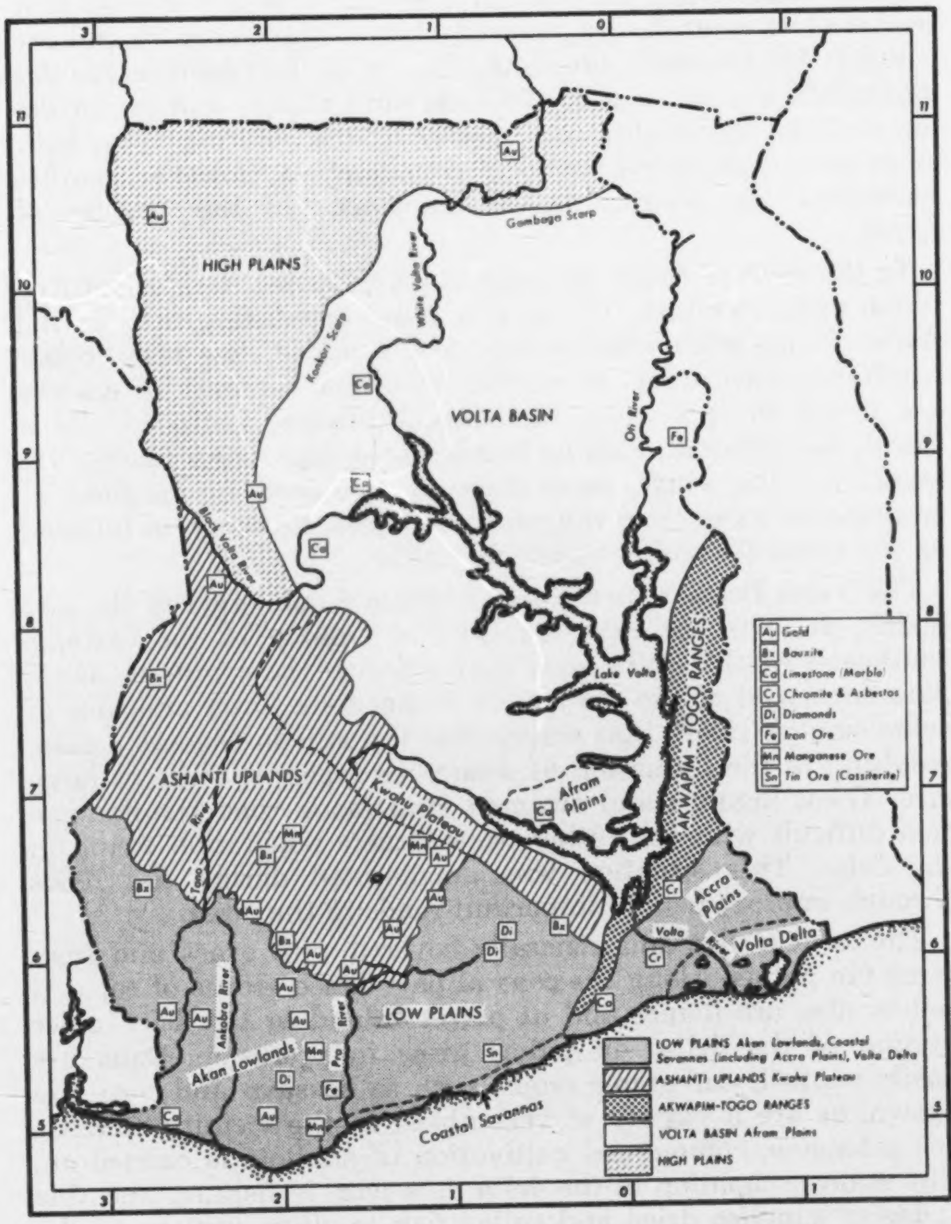

HIGH PLAINS
VOLTA BASIN
ASHANTI UPLANDS
LOW PLAINS
AKWAPIM – TOGO RANGES
Gambaga Scarp
Konkori Scarp
White Volta River
Black Volta River
Oti River
Lake Volta
Afram Plains
Kwahu Plateau
Accra Plains
Volta River
Volta Delta
Tano River
Ankobra River
Pra River
Akan Lowlands
Coastal Savannas
Au Gold
Bx Bauxite
Ca Limestone (Marble)
Cr Chromite & Asbestos
Di Diamonds
Fe Iron Ore
Mn Manganese Ore
Sn Tin Ore (Cassiterite)
LOW PLAINS Akan Lowlands, Coastal Savannas (including Accra Plains), Volta Delta
ASHANTI UPLANDS Kwahu Plateau
AKWAPIM-TOGO RANGES
VOLTA BASIN Afram Plains
HIGH PLAINS
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5

Figure 2. Geographic Regions and Minerals of Ghana

The Accra Plains are mostly flat and almost featureless, with the land descending gradually to the gulf from a height of about 500 feet at the base of the Akwapim-Togo Ranges. The monotony of the scenery is broken, however, by occasional, isolated, steep-sided hill clusters that rise to heights of between 900 and 1,500 feet. Near the coast the intermittent drainage from these plains empties into the gulf through a series of river valleys. The valleys are often swampy during the rainy seasons, and their outlets are periodically blocked by sandbars to form lagoons. The plains, particularly a section nearer the coast that receives less rainfall, are generally free of the tsetse fly and are suitable for livestock breeding. The most favorable areas for agriculture are at the foot of the Akwapim-Togo Ranges. In the latter 1960s agriculture was mostly of the rotating type, with crops grown primarily for local consumption; however, market gardening was increasing in importance in the vicinity of Accra.

To the west of Accra the coastal plain varies from about five to ten miles in width. The land is more undulating than in the Accra Plains with wide valleys and rounded, low hills; rocky headlands also occur. A number of larger commercial centers are found in this area, including Winneba, Saltpond, Cape Coast, and Sekondi. Fishing is important, and many fishing villages line the coast. Agriculture is practiced by farmers in settlements away from the coast; the area, however, is infested by the tsetse fly and is unsafe for cattle.

The Volta Delta, which forms a distinct subregion of the low plains, projects out into the Gulf of Guinea in the extreme southeast. As this delta grew outward over the centuries, sandbars developed across the mouth of the Volta River and also of some smaller rivers that empty into the gulf in the same area, resulting in the formation of numerous lagoons, some of large size. These lagoons and swamps long made road communication difficult with the rather considerable population living in the delta. This situation was ameliorated during the 1960s through improvement of important roads in the area.

The land is flat and generally covered with grass and scattered fan palms. Along the coastal part dense groves of coconut palms also are found, and at places inland in the drier, older section of the delta, oil palms grow in profusion. Soils are easily worked, and staple crops, such as cassava and corn, are grown, as are a variety of vegetables. In the vicinity of Keta, the intensive, commercial cultivation of shallots is carried on. The main occupation in the delta, however, is fishing, and this industry supplies dried and salted fish to other sections of the country (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

The Akan Lowlands, which make up the greater part of the low plains, have a general elevation between sea level and 500 feet. A number of hill ranges occur, mainly oriented in a northeast-southwest direction, which have a few peaks exceeding 2,000 feet, although most high points rarely rise above 1,000 feet. The lowlands contain the basins of the Densu, Pra, Ankobra, and Tano rivers, all of which have played important roles in the development of the country.

The Densu River basin in the eastern section of the lowlands has an undulating topography. Many of the hills found there have craggy summits, which give a striking appearance to the landscape. The important commercial centers of Koforidua and Nsawam are located in this basin. The Pra River basin, to the west of the Densu, has a relatively flat relief in its upper section; the lower part resembles the topography of the Densu basin. It is a rich cocoa- and food-producing region. The valley of the Birim River, a main tributary of the Pra, is the country's most important diamond-producing area.

The combined Ankobra River basin and the middle and lower basins of the Tano River in the west of the lowlands form the largest subdivision. The area is rich in minerals and includes the Tarkwa gold-mining area, the rich diamond field of the Bonsa valley, and high-grade manganese deposits. Potentially important deposits of bauxite also occur. In addition, it is a major producer of logs and timber. The general relief is much the same as in the other principal river basins; however, in the northwest the land has a plateau appearance, and the average elevation is above 500 feet.

Akwapim-Togo Ranges

The Akwapim-Togo Ranges in the eastern part of the country consist of a generally rugged complex of folded strata, with many prominent heights composed of volcanic rocks. The ranges begin west of Accra and continue in a northeasterly direction through the Volta Region and finally cross the frontier in the upper part of that region completely into the Republic of Togo.

In their southeastern part the ranges are bisected by a deep, narrow gorge that has been cut by the Volta River. The head of this gorge is the site of the Akosombo Dam, which impounds the water of the river to form Lake Volta. The ranges south of the gorge form the Akwapim section of the mountains. The average elevation in this section is about 1,500 feet, and the valleys are generally deep and relatively narrow. North of the gorge for about fifty miles, the Togo section has broader valleys and generally low ridges. Beyond this point, the folding becomes more complex, and heights increase greatly, with several peaks rising above 2,500 feet. The country's highest point, Mount Afadjato (2,905 feet), is located in this area.

The ranges are generally covered with deciduous forests, and their higher elevation gives them a relatively cooler and more pleasant climate. Small-scale subsistence farming is typical and includes cultivation of the usual staples. In parts of the Togo section coffee plantations also exist.

Ashanti Uplands

The Ashanti Uplands lie just to the north of the Akan Lowlands area and extend from the Ivory Coast border, through western and part of northern Brong-Ahafo Region and the Ashanti Region (excluding its eastern section), to the eastern end of the Kwahu Plateau. With the exception of the Kwahu Plateau, the uplands slope gently toward the south, gradually decreasing in elevation from about 1,000 to 500 feet. Erosion of the crystalline rocks that underlie this area has left a number of hills and ranges, trending generally southwest to northeast, which in places reach heights between 1,500 and 2,500 feet. In the southernmost part, their valleys become more open, and the region merges imperceptibly into the Akan Lowlands.

The Kwahu Plateau, forming the northeastern and eastern part of the uplands, has a quite different geologic structure and consists largely of relatively horizontal sandstones. Elevation averages 1,500 feet, and high points rise to over 2,500 feet. The greater height of the plateau gives it a comparatively cooler climate.

The uplands lie across the rain-bearing winds, and the entire region receives substantial amounts of rainfall. The uplands were originally covered by deciduous forests; however, many areas have been cleared for cocoa farms, and in the 1960s the region was the country's most important cocoa producer. It also has important mineral deposits; for instance, Obuasi, in the southern part, has long been considered the richest gold-mining town in the country.

Kumasi, the country's second largest city and formerly the capital of the Ashanti Confederation, is located in this region. The principal roads between the coast and the northern part of the country converge on the city, which is also the meeting point for rail lines reaching it from Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi. Almost all products from the north pass through Kumasi on their way to the more populous south.

Volta Basin

The Volta Basin region occupies the central part of the country and covers about 45 percent of the country's total area. Much of the southern and southwestern part of this basin is under 500 feet in elevation, whereas in the northern section, lying above the upper part of Lake Volta and the Black Volta, elevations are from about 500 to 750 feet. The edges of the basin are characterized by high scarps. The Kwahu Plateau marks the southern end of the basin, although it forms a natural part of the Ashanti Uplands. The Konkori Scarp, on the western edge of the basin, and the Gambaga Scarp, in the north, have elevations from about 1,000 to 1,500 feet.

Much of the basin is characterized by poor soil conditions, and the area generally experiences a long, hot dry season, with rainfall decreasing northward to less than forty-five inches annually. The population, principally made up of farmers, has a quite low density, especially in the central and northwestern areas of the basin. Archaeological finds indicate, however, that the region once was more heavily populated. Extensive areas appear to have undergone periodic burning for perhaps more than a millennium, exposing the soil to excessive drying and erosion and making the area less attractive to cultivators.

A rather striking divergence from the rest of the basin is seen in the Afram Plains, which make up its southeastern corner. The terrain is low, averaging 200 to 500 feet in elevation, and the rainfall is between forty-five and fifty-five inches a year. Stands of high forest occur on islands of higher ground. The land is very flat in the vicinity of the Afram River; this area is swampy or flooded during the rainy season, and it was largely submerged in the formation of Lake Volta. The entire area is thinly populated, and communications were poor until the mid-1960s, when new, all-weather roads were constructed in connection with the resettlement in the plains of communities and people displaced by the lake's rising waters.

The High Plains

The general terrain in the northern and northwestern part of the country outside the Volta Basin region consists of a dissected plateau area, which averages between 500 and 1,000 feet in elevation and in some places is even higher. The rainfall is between forty and forty-five inches annually, although in the northwest it is closer to fifty inches. Soils in the high plains have generally greater fertility than in the Volta Basin, and the population density is considerably higher. Grains are a major crop, but farming is chiefly for local consumption. The tsetse fly is virtually absent, and livestock raising is a major occupation. The region is the largest producer and exporter of cattle to the rest of the country.

CLIMATE

The climate is tropical. Variations in the principal weather components—temperature, humidity, and rainfall—are governed mainly by the movement and interaction of three major airmasses that affect all of West Africa. These include the harmattan, a trade wind that originates in the Sahara region; it blows from the northeast and is hot, dry, and dust laden. The second airmass is tropical maritime and comes from the southwest across the Gulf of Guinea. It is monsoonal in character and composed of moist, relatively cool air. The third airmass consists of the cool equatorial easterlies that are found at higher altitudes.

The movement of these airmasses over Ghana, influenced by the movement of the sun back and forth across the equator, is accompanied by alternating periods of drought and rain that mark the country's seasons. The number of seasons, however, is not the same throughout the country. North of the Kwahu Plateau generally, two distinct seasons occur. From November to March or April the harmattan is dominant; this is a period of drought with hot days and relatively cooler nights. The rainy period occurs from about April or May to October; it is often accompanied by violent storms.

To the south and west of the Kwahu Plateau, four separate seasons—two wet and two dry—can usually be distinguished. Heavy rains fall in May and June, and these are followed, starting in late July or early August, by a short drought period. Sometime in September a second rainy period begins and continues until about November, when the harmattan sets in. The subsequent drought lasts until March or April.

The amount of rainfall varies greatly in different parts of the country. The heaviest average annual precipitation is in the extreme southwest, and it gradually decreases northward. During a thirty-year period ending in 1960, Axim, on the southwest coast, had an average annual rainfall of over eighty-eight inches. Farther to the north, Kumasi received an average of more than fifty-seven inches during the same time; Tamale, in the northern savanna country, received somewhat more than forty-two inches.

A major exception to the rainfall pattern is found in a zone along the southern coast from about Takoradi eastward to the Accra Plains area, including an area to the south of Ho. This zone receives an average of thirty to forty inches a year. At some points the average falls below thirty inches; at Accra, for instance, it is about twenty-nine inches, and in parts of the plains near the city it is even less.

Considerable annual variations in rainfall also occur at individual localities. In 1963 Axim had almost 128 inches of rain; in the following year only 67 inches were recorded. At Kumasi a high of almost 80 inches fell during 1966. In the same year Accra received less than 23 inches. On occasion, an entire month during the rainy season may pass without appreciable rainfall.

Temperatures are relatively high at all times of the year. The annual mean temperature for the country as a whole, excluding a few places where high altitude plays a part, ranges from 79°F. to 84°F. Mean daily temperatures show a much more pronounced range, which averages 12°F. to 13°F. in coastal areas and as much as 18°F. to 30°F. inland. Temperatures in the north are generally higher than those in the coastal region; the annual mean maximum temperature in the far north approximates 94°F., whereas that in the coastal area runs between 85°F. and 86°F. Extreme temperatures occasionally occur during each year. For instance, absolute temperatures of 104°F. to 106°F. were recorded annually in Tamale between 1962 and 1966. The highest temperature on record as of the late 1960s, however, was 109°F. at Navrongo.

Annual mean minimum temperatures vary at different spots in the country from above 69°F. to about 75°F. Absolute minimum temperatures drop into the sixties in coastal areas and, farther inland, into the fifties. The lowest temperature on record as of the late 1960s was 51°F., registered at both Kumasi and Tafo.

The highest temperatures generally occur everywhere in the country between February and April, usually just before the start of the rainy season. The lowest temperatures are registered in December in the extreme north and in January in most of the rest of the country. Along the coast and in the southern Ho district in the Volta Region, however, they occur in August. The exact reason for this is not known, but it is thought to be related in part to the upwelling of cold water close to the coast at that time of the year.

The southern part of the country is characterized by generally humid conditions throughout the year. In the coastal zone the relative humidity reaches between 95 and 100 percent at night. In the southwest, where vegetation is denser, it drops to a minimum of about 75 percent around midday, and in more open areas to the east, to about 65 percent. It occasionally falls sharply in the southeast when the harmattan penetrates the area in January, when lows of under 15 percent have been recorded.

The northern part of the country also experiences humid conditions during the rainy season from April to October. Nightly relative humidities may average 95 percent, declining to about 70 percent in the afternoon. During the harmattan season relative humidities in the north are much lower, being about 80 percent at night on the average; however, in the far north they drop to as low as 25 percent during January. Daytime humidities during the height of the dry season may drop to about 20 percent or below.

THE LAND

Soils and Vegetation

The parent rock materials from which Ghana's soils have been derived are very similar throughout the country, particularly in the rather considerable amount of quartz they contain. The differences found in soil types therefore are primarily related to climate and vegetation. In general, these types can be divided into soils of the coastal savannas, soils of the forest zone, and soils of the northern savannas. Within each major division, however, variations connected with differences in local topography and geology occur.

Soils in the forest zone have a greater accumulation of organic materials than those in the other zones. Much of the surface soil is light in texture and usually of a brownish or grey-brown color. The bedrock is generally near the surface, and the minerals from its decomposition are within reach of plant roots, thus increasing fertility. Rainfall in the forest zone is heavy, but the forest cover prevents excessive leaching or evaporation and preserves soil richness.

Soils in the coastal zone appear to be younger than those in the other areas. The zone is characterized by a thinner vegetation cover, which permits greater evaporation; at the same time there is less rainfall than in the forest zone. Upper soil layers vary from a few inches to several feet in thickness and contain decomposing plant matter that imparts a brownish to blackish color. Soils are very similar throughout most of the zone. To the east of Tema, however, a heavy black clay occurs that has resulted from the breakdown of rocks peculiar to the southeastern part of the country. This soil is wet and soggy during rainy periods but fails to retain any of this moisture during the dry season and, as a result, it is generally unproductive. In contrast, a quite different reddish, sandy soil is found in the area of the Volta Delta; this soil consists of geologically recent alluvial deposits. It is well drained and quite suitable for agricultural use.

Much of the soil found in the northern savannas is thin, the long arid periods characterizing the area acting to prevent the deep weathering of the underlying rock. Also, during the long dry season the vegetation becomes dessicated, and intense evaporation of moisture from the soil occurs. When the rains begin, the soil is inadequately protected, and the heavy nature of the rainfall results in leaching of nutrient materials and serious erosion.

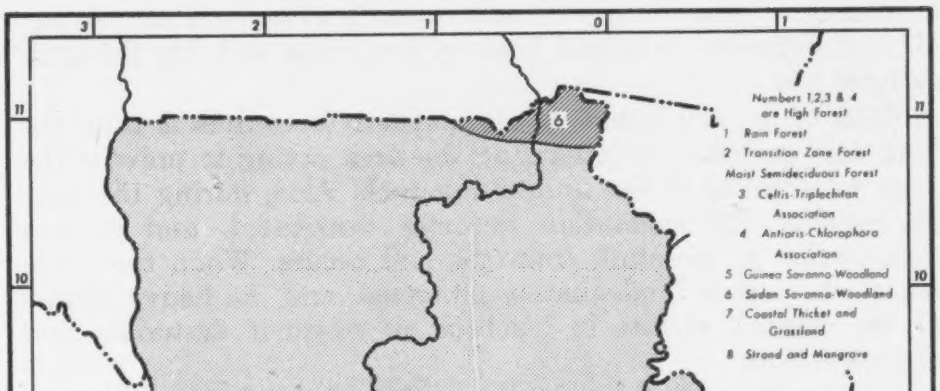
Soil conditions in the northern savannas are influenced additionally by the type of underlying bedrock. In the Volta Basin, which is underlain by sandstone, a hardpan layer forms beneath the surface soil that affects its use for agriculture. The generally low fertility of the soils in the basin accounts in part for the low population density in the area. In contrast, in the west and far north of the northern savannas, where older crystalline and metamorphic rocks occur, some better soils of brown and dark brown color are found; the hardpan layer is also generally missing.

Temperatures throughout the country are sufficiently high at all times to permit continuous plant growth. The type of natural vegetation found in different regions is mainly connected with rainfall amounts and the duration of the dry season. Local soils apparently also play some part in certain situations.

Five major types of vegetation are found: high forest, Guinea savanna-woodland, Sudan savanna-woodland, coastal thicket and grassland, and strand and mangrove (see fig. 3). Boundaries between the types are not usually precise, except for the strand and mangrove vegetation zone. Transition zones occur, and outliers of one type may also be found in another zone as the result of local topography and circumstances, for instance, the occurrence of gallery forests along rivers in the savanna-woodland zones.

The high forest vegetation zone covers the entire southwestern part of the country, with the exception of a small coastal strip. It also includes a large outlier in the Akwapim-Togo Ranges to the east. Characteristic of tropical forests, it is layered; in much of the forest there is a three-tier canopy of foliage. The first layer of treetops is found at about 60 feet; a second layer, at between 120 and 130 feet; and a third, at close to 200 feet. Trees in the third layer are emergents and typically more dispersed, and the canopy is not continuous, in contrast to the first- and second-tier canopies.

The Ghanaian high forest in its natural state originally cov-


Numbers 1,2,3 & 4 are High Forest
1 Rain Forest
2 Transition Zone Forest
Moist Semideciduous Forest
3 Celtis-Triplochiton Association
4 Antiaris-Chlorophora Association
5 Guinea Savanna Woodland
6 Sudan Savanna-Woodland
7 Coastal Thicket and Grassland
8 Strand and Mangrove
Lake Volta
1
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Source: Adapted from Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E. N. Omaboe (eds.), *A Study of Contemporary Ghana,* I, The Economy of Ghana, Map I, Vegetation Zones, end of book, Evanston, 1966.

Figure 3. Natural Vegetation of Ghana

ered almost 32,000 square miles. About two-thirds of this area had been denuded by farmers by the late 1950s, with only scattered large trees left, under which cocoa and food crops were grown. At the beginning of 1970 the original high forest growth was still to be found in some 5,800 square miles of government reserves, in which cultivation and uncontrolled cutting of timber were prohibited. These reserves also served to protect river headwaters and acted as a windbreak against the harmattan's dry winds. In addition, there were some untouched forest areas, largely in the western part of the zone, totaling perhaps some 2,500 square miles. It was estimated, however, that remaining forests not included in the reserves would be denuded within twenty years by the activities of farmers.

The high forest zone is subdivided into a rain or tropical forest, situated in the far southwest of the country, where the annual rainfall totals about seventy to eighty-five inches; a moist, semideciduous forest, covering a much larger area, with a rainfall of about fifty to seventy inches a year; and a transition zone between the two. The principal distinction between the two high-forest types is that trees in the rain forest are mostly evergreen, whereas in the moist, semideciduous forest many trees forming the upper two canopies lose their leaves at some time during the year.

A further subdivision can be distinguished within the moist, semideciduous forest itself, marked, as it approaches its northern limit, with decreasing rainfall and the greater effect of the harmattan, by visible differences in tree species and predominant tree associations. More than 200 tree species have been reported in different parts of the high-forest zone, a number of which are commercially valuable. These include various mahoganies, silk-cotton trees, wawa, and odum.

The most extensive form of vegetation type is the Guinea savanna-woodland, which lies generally north of the high-forest zone and covers about 57,000 square miles, or more than three-fifths of the country. In the southern part of this zone there is an association of high grasses reaching heights of up to twelve feet and woodlands with trees up to fifty feet in height. The area has been greatly affected by regular burning, which is carried out for a variety of reasons, such as cultivation, producing new shoots for cattle fodder, and bringing wild game into the open. Many of the tree types have a thick bark and are resistant to fire. Common ones include the shea tree, locust bean, *Isoberlinia*, and *Daniellia*. Gallery forests in moist river bottoms and trees on rocky elevations that retard fires contain tree types that apparently constitute the remnants of an original high-forest type of vegetation.

In the more northerly part of the Guinea savanna-woodland the grasses are less tall, usually ranging between about two and five feet in height, and continuous stands of woodland occur. Trees show an adaptation to the drier environment; evergreen species occur in greater number in comparison with the southern area, where many trees are deciduous. Gallery forests also occur in this part of the savanna; however, the trees are more closely related to the savanna-woodland types than to the high-forest associations.

The Sudan savanna-woodland covers an area of some 750 square miles centering on Bawku in the far northeast. Grasses are shorter and form a less complete cover, and trees are less frequent than in the Guinea savanna-woodland, giving the area a parkland appearance. Acacias are common, and species of *Combretum* produce wide stands of scrubs. The area is comparatively heavily populated, and burning and cultivation have caused extensive destruction of the natural vegetation in this zone.

Coastal thicket and grassland vegetation is found in a narrow strip, varying in width to twenty miles, that stretches just back of the coast from Takoradi eastward to the Volta River. The western part of this zone (from Takoradi to Accra) encompasses an estimated 800 square miles and is covered with dense scrub with very little grass. This area merges to the east into the Accra Plains, which cover an additional 935 square miles. Grasses become abundant—particularly Guinea grass—and clumps of scrubs and bushes occur. A few trees, including baobab and some euphorbias, also dot the landscape. Numerous termite hills, some up to ten feet in height, occur in the plains area. Many have broken down and appear as mounds covered by thick scrub and growths of trees.

Strand and mangrove vegetation is limited to the immediate coastal area and to the lagoons. It is characterized in sandy areas by creeping and succulent plants, occasional stunted bushes, and tufts and patches of grass. On some sand spits and other places along the sandy shore, the natural vegetation has been replaced by planted coconut trees. Mangrove growths are confined largely to the lagoons and to old lagoon beds that are flooded during rainy periods. The mangrove plants are generally scrubby and usually do not reach big tree height.

Drainage

The entire country is interlaced by a net of streams and rivers. The stream pattern is closest in the moister south and southwest. North of the Kwahu Plateau, in the eastern part of the Ashanti Region, and in the western part of the Northern Region, the pattern is much more open and makes access to water more difficult. Stream flow is not regular throughout the year, and during the dry seasons the smaller streams and rivers dry up or have greatly reduced flow, even in the wetter areas of the country.

A major drainage divide runs from the southwestern part of the Akwapim-Togo Ranges northwestward through the Kwahu Plateau and then irregularly westward to the Ivory Coast border. Almost all streams and rivers north and east of this divide are part of the vast Volta drainage system, which covers some 61,000 square miles, or more than two-thirds of the country. To the south and southwest of the plateau several smaller independent river systems flow directly into the Gulf of Guinea. The most important are the Pra, the Ankobra, and the Tano. Only the Volta, Ankobra, and Tano rivers are navigable by launches or lighters, and this is possible only in their lower sections.

The largest river, the Volta, has three branches, all of which originate in the Republic of Upper Volta. The Black Volta forms the northwest border to just below the ninth parallel, then flows southeastward into Ghana to near the town of Bamboi, at which point it turns toward the east. The White Volta and the Red Volta both enter the country in the northeast. About twenty-five miles inside the border, the Red Volta joins the westward-flowing White Volta, which eventually turns and flows southward through approximately the central part of the country.

Until the latter half of the 1960s the Black Volta and the White Volta came together near the middle of the country to form the Volta River, which from this confluence flowed first southeastward, then south, for about 310 miles to the Gulf of Guinea. In 1964 the closing of a dam across the Volta at Akosombo, roughly some 50 miles upstream from its mouth, created a vast lake along the entire former course of the river above this point. Arms of the lake extend into the lower courses of the Black Volta and the White Volta, which now flow separately into it. The Oti and Daka rivers, the principal tributaries of the Volta in the eastern part of the country, and the Pru, Sene, and Afram rivers, major tributaries located north of the Kwahu Plateau, also now empty into long extensions of the lake into their river valleys.

The Pra is the easternmost and most extensive of the three principal rivers that drain the area south of the Volta system divide. It rises south of the Kwahu Plateau and, flowing generally southward, enters the Gulf of Guinea near Shama. In the early part of the twentieth century it was used extensively to float timber to the coast for export, but this trade has been taken over by road and rail transport.

The Ankobra, to the west of the Pra, has a relatively small drainage basin. It rises in a hilly region south of Bibiani and flows in a generally southerly direction to enter the gulf just west of Axim. Small craft can navigate approximately fifty miles inland from its mouth. At one time it served for the transport of machinery to the gold-mining areas in the vicinity of Tarkwa. The Tano, which is the westernmost of the three rivers, rises near Techiman in the Brong-Ahafo Region. It flows almost directly south, emptying into the broad Aby Lagoon in the southeast corner of the Ivory Coast. Navigation by steam launch is possible on the Tano as far inland as Tanosu.

A number of short, small rivers are also found in the southern part of the country. Two of these, the Densu and Ayensu, are important as sources of water for Accra and Winneba, respectively. The country has one large natural lake, Lake Bosumtwi, located about twenty miles southeast of Kumasi. It occupies the steep-sided caldera of a former volcano and has an area of about eighteen square miles. Several small streams flow into the lake; there is no drainage out of it, however, and during the 1960s its level was gradually rising. Its principal value as of 1970 was as a tourist attraction.

Minerals

The economically most important minerals under exploitation as of 1970 were gold, manganese, bauxite, and industrial and gem diamonds. Other known mineral deposits included iron ore, cassiterite, chromite, asbestos, andalusite, kyanite, kaolin, limestone, marble, barite, and salt. Deposits or occurrences of beryl, ilmenite, mica, graphite, and nickel also have been reported. In June 1970 oil and gas in potentially significant quantities were discovered off the coast near Saltpond in the Central Region.

The location of most minerals is largely related to the country's geology. The principal sites of gold, manganese, bauxite, and diamonds, as well as known major iron ore deposits, are in the pre-Cambrian formations that cover about 55 percent of the total area. Most of the main deposits being worked in 1970 were in these formations in the southern part of the country; however, gold prospects, isolated diamond occurrences, and some other minerals also exist in the western and far northern areas covered by pre-Cambrian formations (see fig. 2). A large iron ore deposit at Shieni in the extreme eastern part of the Northern Region is in an area that also contains pre-Cambrian rocks.

In contrast, the large central area of the country occupied by the Volta Basin and covered by Paleozoic formations has fewer reported mineral locations. The deposits found in the basin also appear to be chiefly of nonmetallic minerals; those known in 1970 consisted principally of limestone, marble, salt, and barite. Bauxite, however, is found on the southern edge of the Kwahu

Plateau, which constitutes the southern limit of the basin. The formation of Lake Volta has flooded some limestone deposits in the Afram Plains and clay deposits at Yeji.

Gold has been mined since at least the tenth century, and the extensive trade in it with Europeans from the latter fifteenth century gave rise to the country's former name of Gold Coast (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Gold occurs in quartz veins, conglomerates, and alluvial deposits. The main underground mining areas in mid-1970 were at Obuasi in southern Ashanti Region and around Tarkwa in the Western Region. Alluvial gold in significant amounts is found along the Ofin River in the Central Region and the Ankobra River in the Western Region. Alluvial deposits also occur along the Tano River in the Western Region and the Birim River in the Eastern Region.

Diamonds are of the alluvial type. The major producing areas are along the Birim River and the lower part of the Bonsa River in the Western Region, but there are scattered occurrences elsewhere. Manganese deposits containing high-grade ore are mined at Nsuta in the Western Region; lower grade deposits also have been located in the Western Region and in the Ashanti Region. A deposit of almost 90 million metric tons of reportedly higher grade ore has also been discovered at Kibi in the Eastern Region.

Large deposits of bauxite are found on the flat tops of the hill ranges in southwest Ghana. The only deposits being mined in 1969, however, were near Awaso in the Western Region. A potentially important deposit situated in the Nyinahin area about forty miles west of Kumasi contained an estimated 170 million to 200 million metric tons of ore, of which about 130 million metric tons were thought to be of high grade. Another deposit of high-grade ore found in the Atewa Hills near Kibi in the Eastern Region had an estimated 70 million metric tons. Prospecting was going on in the area of Mount Ejuanema, north of Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region, where deposits were mined during World War II.

Large limestone deposits have been located in the extreme southwest of the country in a comparatively small area. A survey by the Ghana Geological Survey Department in the vicinity of Nauli has indicated a minimum of 400 million metric tons of limestone suitable for the manufacture of cement. The deposit is of very considerable economic significance since the country's two cement plants in 1970 were using imported material.

Wildlife

The larger wildlife of the country includes animals common to tropical Africa, such as lions, leopards, elephants, wild pigs, buffalo, antelopes, baboons, and many kinds of monkeys. Crocodiles and hippopotamuses are also found. Many of the species that once roamed the savannas in relative profusion, however, have been depleted by hunting or scattered by the clearing of land for agricultural use. A game reserve and a number of game sanctuaries have been established as havens for these animals. The main protected area is the Mole Game Reserve in Damongo in the Northern Region, which covers about 900 square miles.

Snakes found in the country include pythons and poisonous varieties such as cobras, boomslangs, mambas, and adders. Lizards, often of striking colors, are common, as are large snails; spiders and scorpions are found in large numbers. There are also many types of insects, some of which, including mosquitoes and tsetse and other flies, transmit malaria, yellow fever, sleeping sickness, and river blindness, diseases that are endemic to the country (see ch. 6, Living Conditions).

Birds are numerous and of considerable variety, including parrots, hornbills, touracos or plantain eaters, kites, eagles, vultures, herons, snakebirds, swallows, doves and pigeons, and guinea fowls. Among saltwater fish are sardines (locally called herring), mackerels, tunas, croakers, breams, threadfish, and tonguefish. Rays, sharks, and barracudas also are caught. In the lagoons are mullet, tilapia, and shrimp. Freshwater clams are harvested in the lower Volta River, whereas tilapias predominate in rivers generally. In 1970 various species of tilapia were the main fish populating Lake Volta.

BOUNDARIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Ghana has a land frontier totaling 1,280 miles and an additional 344 miles of coastline on the Gulf of Guinea. Its borders were largely determined by political agreements among the colonial powers that formerly occupied West Africa long before the country achieved independence (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The 232-mile northern border has little relationship to natural features; it represents essentially the limit of northward British colonial military penetration. The 528-mile western border and the 520-mile eastern border at some points are determined by natural terrain features. The most important include the Black Volta, which demarcates the northwestern border with Upper Volta and a section of the border with the Ivory Coast. In the southwest another small section of the frontier with the Ivory Coast is delimited by the Tano River, and in the northeast the Oti River constitutes a part of the border with the Republic of Togo.

The remainder of the borders were essentially arbitrary lines agreed upon by treaty, and disputes have arisen between Ghana and Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast over these boundaries (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). In February 1968 a joint Ghanaian-Upper Voltan commission was appointed to carry out redemarcation of their mutual frontier. The commission's final report was signed by the two countries in February 1970. In the case of the Ghanaian-Ivory Coast border, problems have arisen connected with smuggling and the removal of demarcation pillars originally erected by the British and French colonial governments. In March 1970 the two countries agreed to redefine their frontier, and in August 1970 redemarcation was started in the Dormaa-Ahenkro area of western Brong-Ahafo Region.

Internally, the country was divided, as of 1970, into eight administrative units, designated regions, each having a regional capital (see fig. 1). Each region was further subdivided into a varying number of districts. There were forty-seven of these in early 1970. Below the district level, administrative functions were performed by an undetermined number of local units. In addition to the regions, the Accra Capital District, made up of Accra and Tema and their hinterlands, had an autonomous status (see ch. 8, The Governmental System).

The greater Accra area, extending from Accra to Tema, has the status of a city and operates as a separate administrative unit with a city council. The Sekondi-Takoradi area and Kumasi are in this same category. In addition, Cape Coast is classified as a municipality and constitutes an independent administrative entity functioning under a municipal council.

TRANSPORTATION

Railways

The country's railway system, designated the Ghana Railway, is located entirely in the south (see fig. 4). Its northernmost point is Kumasi in central Ashanti Region. In 1970 the Ghana Railway was state owned and operated by the Ghana Railway and Ports Authority under the Ministry of Transport and Communications, although the government had plans to make it a public corporation. The line has a route length of about 592 miles and total trackage of somewhat over 790 miles. Its main sections are the Eastern Line, running from Accra to Kumasi (188 miles), the Western Line, between Takoradi and Kumasi (166 miles), and the Central Line (124 miles), which branches from the Eastern Line not far north of Accra and runs westward to join the Western Line at Huni Valley, some 50 to 60 miles above Takoradi. A number of branch lines also run to places of special economic importance, including the port of Tema, Prestea in the Tarkwa goldfield area, and the bauxite mine at Awaso.

Motive power in the late 1960s, excluding switch engines, consisted of about 86 steam and 55 diesel-electric locomotives. The railway also had some 230 passenger and about 3,200 freight cars. A program of gradual shift to diesel power was being carried out, and the government in 1969 approved the purchase of an additional 16 diesel electric locomotives during fiscal years 1969/70 and 1971/72 as part of a general railway rehabilitation program. This program also called for the acquisition of additional rolling stock for use in hauling timber, ores, cocoa, and general merchandise and tank cars for petroleum products.

The railways are of special importance in the export trade. In the latter 1960s they were the sole carriers of bauxite and manganese ores and more than 70 percent of the timber and cocoa for export. Total tonnage carried in fiscal 1968/69, including internal traffic, was over 1.5 million metric tons. In the same year they also carried more than 7.5 million passengers.

Highways and Road Transportation

As of early 1970 there were about 20,000 miles of roads throughout the country. Slightly more than 2,400 miles had bitumen surfaces, about 6,800 miles were laterite and gravel roads, and some 10,700 miles were unimproved earth roads. The road net is rather dense and generally adequate in the southern part of the country. Roads in the central and northern sections are sparse, but most centers of any size are connected by reasonably good roads. One of the principal roads, which formerly crossed the Volta River at Yeji, has been greatly affected by the formation of Lake Volta. In early 1970 the lake at this point was 5 miles wide and was crossed only by a slow ferry.

Main roads, totaling about 5,500 miles at the beginning of 1970, were maintained by the central government. The remaining approximately 14,500 miles were kept up intermittently by regional, district, and local authorities. Many roads are subject to disruption during the rainy seasons. Improvement of part of the trunk net in the south was started in 1969 with financial assistance from the International Development Association. This plan encompasses the Accra-Kumasi road and the Kumasi-Takoradi road. The Accra-Takoradi coastal route was considered in adequate condition for the traffic handled. The area served by these three main trunk roads contains about 60 per-

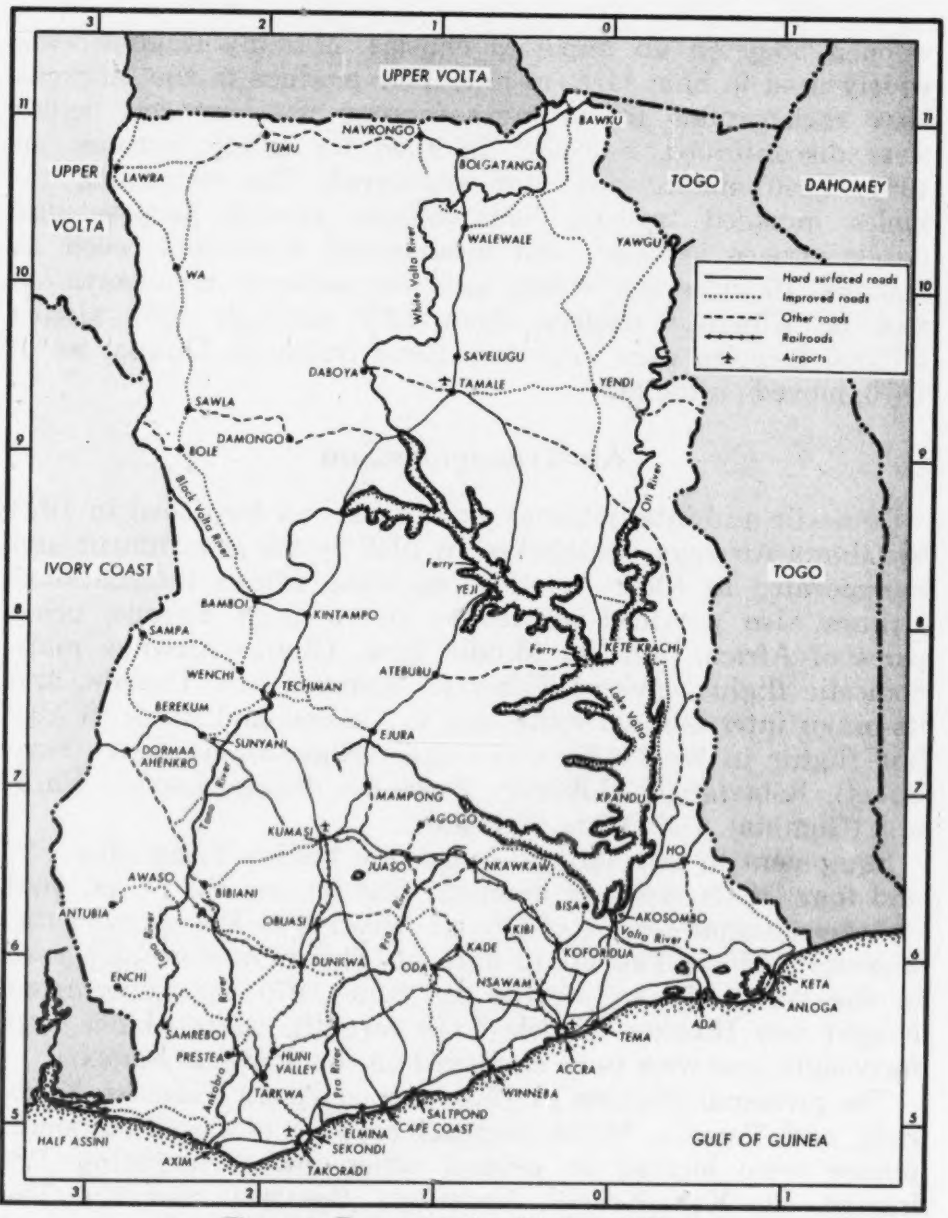

UPPER VOLTA
UPPER VOLTA
NAVRONGO
TUMU
BAWKU
BOLGATANGA
TOGO
DAHOMEY
LAWRA
WALEWALE
YAWGU
WA
White Volta River
Hard surfaced roads
Improved roads
Other roads
Railroads
Airports
SAVELUGU
DABOYA
TAMALE
YENDI
SAWLA
DAMONGO
BOLE
Black Volta River
Oti River
IVORY COAST
TOGO
Ferry
YEJI
BAMBOI
KINTAMPO
SAMPA
Ferry
KETE KRACHI
WENCHI
TECHIMAN
ATEBUBU
BEREKUM
Lake Volta
SUNYANI
EJURA
DORMAA AHENKRO
Tano River
MAMPONG
KPANDU
AGOGO
KUMASI
HO
JUASO
NKAWKAW
AWASO
BIBIANI
BISA
AKOSOMBO
ANTUBIA
OBUASI
Volta River
KIBI
KADE
KOFORIDUA
Bia River
DUNKWA
Pra River
ODA
NSAWAM
ENCHI
KETA
ANLOGA
ADA
TEMA
SAMREBOI
Ankobra River
PRESTEA
HUNI VALLEY
ACCRA
WINNEBA
TARKWA
Pra River
SALTPOND
CAPE COAST
ELMINA
SEKONDI
TAKORADI
HALF ASSINI
AXIM
GULF OF GUINEA
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5

Figure 4. Transportation System of Ghana

cent of the total population. Road transport at the end of the 1960s accounted for about two-thirds, or 3.5 million metric tons, of the combined approximately 5 million metric tons of interzonal cargo carried annually by rail and road transportation facilities.

Total vehicle registrations were over 52,000 in 1967, including 27,551 cars and taxis, 3,460 buses, and 14,872 trucks. Included in the figure for trucks were the vehicles known as mammy wagons. A combined passenger-commodity bus, it is the traditional road vehicle and usually consists of a locally made wooden body on an imported chassis. Mammy wagons were widely used to haul farmers and their produce to the markets. New registrations for mammy wagons with wooden bodies were discontinued, however, in 1966 for safety reasons. In 1967, 2,846 motorcycles were registered. The remaining vehicles included trailers, housetrailers, special purpose and public service vehicles, and mechanized equipment, such as tractors. Bicycles are widely used for personal transportation and by itinerant traders; from 1960 through 1967 almost 137,000 bicycles were imported. Road traffic in Ghana, as of 1970, moved on the left.

Air Transportation

Domestic and international air service was furnished in 1970 by Ghana Airways, established in 1958 by the government and incorporated in 1963. In addition, some fifteen international airlines also provided service to Accra from Europe, other parts of Africa, and the Middle East. Ghana Airways main domestic flights covered Takoradi, Kumasi, and Tamale, and its major international route was to London and Rome. It also had flights in West Africa to Lagos (Nigeria), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Robertsfield (Liberia), Freetown (Sierra Leone), Bathurst (Gambia), and Dakar (Senegal).

Equipment in late 1969 included one Fokker Friendship F27 and four DC-3s, used on domestic flights; one VC-10 jet, used on international service of Ghana Airways to Europe; and two Viscount V-800s. The VC-10 and the Viscounts were also used in the West African service. In June 1970 the government bought two Hawker Siddeley 748 aircraft; these planes seat forty-eight and were to be employed on the domestic routes.

The principal airports in 1970 were at Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi, and Tamale. Minor airports capable of handling small planes were located at several other towns, including Damongo, Ho, Kete Krachi, Navrongo, Sunyani, and Wa. The country's international airport at Accra was officially renamed Kotoka International Airport in February 1969, and new terminal buildings were opened at that time. The new facilities permitted the handling of up to 500 passengers at one time. In 1970 funds were provided for construction at Tamale of another international airport, which was expected to be in operation toward the end of 1971.

Ports and Inland Waterways

There are two modern seaports, both of which were artificially constructed. The port of Takoradi in the Western Region was built in 1928 and extended in 1956. The port at Tema, about twenty miles east of Accra and now part of the greater Accra city area, began initial operation in 1960; its facilities have been expanded considerably since then. The country has no natural harbors, and before construction of the two ports all cargo was handled by surf boats and canoes from ships anchored offshore in the open gulf, mainly through Accra, Winneba, Cape Coast, and Sekondi. Partly because of the considerable rail and road distance between Accra and Takoradi, a substantial amount of cargo continued to be handled through Accra until the opening of the port of Tema.

At Takoradi two breakwaters enclose an area of 220 acres of water. The port has a general cargo wharf, an oil wharf and berths for ore carriers, as well as a jetty used to handle imported cement clinker and mooring buoys for large vessels. It possesses modern cargo-handling equipment and also has a small shipyard and a drydock. At Tema the enclosed area is about 500 acres. This port in the latter 1960s had twelve general cargo berths, an oil berth, mooring buoys, and a drydock. Major equipment for handling cargo included portal and mobile cranes and a cocoa conveyor. There was also a small fishing harbor, constructed just to the east of the main port, which possessed cold-storage and marketing facilities.

During the latter 1960s cargo handled by the two ports totaled between 4 million and 5 million metric tons annually, rising to 5.5 million metric tons in 1969. In 1969 about 67 percent of the exports passed through Takoradi, and 33 percent, through Tema. Accounting for the great difference was the large amount of mineral ores and timber shipped out through Takoradi. A considerable quantity of cocoa also passed through this port. The amount of cargo landed in 1969, however, was heavier at Tema, which handled about 56 percent, compared with 44 percent at Takoradi.

Ghana has a state-owned steamship line, the Black Star Line Limited. This line was established in 1957 as a joint venture between the Ghanaian government and the Zim Israel Navigation Company, but full Ghanaian ownership was acquired in 1960. As of late 1970 it had a fleet of sixteen vessels and was operating services to the United Kingdom, Europe, Canadian Atlantic ports, the Great Lakes, eastern United States ports, and ports on the Gulf of Mexico. More than twenty international steamship companies also provided regular service between all parts of the world and Ghana.

Inland waterways, particularly the larger rivers, have long been used for the local transportation of passengers and cargo by canoe. Movement over considerable distances, however, is hampered by the numerous rapids found in most rivers. Before the construction of good roads and the railroad system, considerable use was made of main rivers, in the southern and southwestern parts of the country, to float logs down to the gulf and to transport machinery to mining areas. At that time also the lower Volta River was the main artery of traffic in the southeast. Motor and rail facilities have since taken over, and in 1970 even the lower sections of the Volta, Ankobra, and Tano rivers, which are navigable by shallow-draft motor launches, were being used only on a relatively limited scale.

The formation of Lake Volta, however, has opened up the possibility of developing an inland waterway transport system that could provide easy and economical movement of passengers and cargo between the south and the central and northern parts of the country. A small pilot steamer service between Akosombo, at the southern end of the lake, and Kete Krachi, about halfway up the lake, was started in September 1967. In the latter part of 1969 the Volta River Authority entered into an agreement with a British steamship company and a Swiss firm to operate a transport service on the lake. A 350-ton floating dock, forming part of the lake's transport system, was put into service at Akosombo in early 1970. During 1970 also several ferries built in West Germany went into service on the lake.

LAKE VOLTA

The country's largest manmade feature is Lake Volta, formed by the damming of the Volta River at Akosombo in the Eastern Region. The lake, which in 1970 was the world's largest artificial reservoir, has an estimated maximum area of about 3,275 square miles (with some seasonal variation), or almost one-thirtieth of the country's total area. It has a maximum length of about 250 miles and stretches from the dam site, some 60 miles northeast of Accra, to a point about 30 miles southwest of Tamale in the Northern Region. Major arms of the lake extend into the valleys of the principal tributaries, and the total shoreline approximates 4,500 miles.

Creation of the lake brought the inundation of over 730 settled hamlets and villages, including the town of Kete Krachi, which had 4,000 inhabitants. Kete Krachi was moved to higher land near its old site, but much of the agricultural land served by its market was either flooded or cut off from the town. It is located at the southern end of a main road from the northeast, however, and has the potential of becoming a port of some importance.

Much of the area flooded by the lake was in a rather sparsely populated section of the country. Eventually, however, almost 80,000 persons and more than 14,000 households were affected by the flooding. Some took cash compensation, but the large majority, comprised of some 69,000 individuals and close to 13,000 households, were resettled in suitable areas along the lake in approximately fifty-two new communities.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The great majority of settlements are rural communities, ranging from isolated villages to towns just beginning to feel the impact of modern technology but which still retain a distinctly rural character. They vary from small fishing communities along the coast and lagoons to extensive farming settlements scattered throughout the cocoa-growing lands of the high-forest zone and the more sparse settlements of the northern savannas. In the more heavily populated south, villages and hamlets often are found in relatively continuous distribution, and in areas of low population density they are generally situated along main roads.

The rural settlements in the southern part of the country not only serve to house the people but also act as centers of social life in which the chief and religious leaders play an important role. The chief's house and the site of religious rites are usually the nuclei around which other houses are grouped. In some villages the houses may be located along both sides of a road or trail, and in others, in a rectangular pattern with crisscrossing lanes.

In much of the northern savannas, particularly the Middle Belt, a thinly populated area mainly in the Volta Basin, settlements tend to be concentrated along both major and minor roads, with all larger communities lying along the main routes. Few settlements are located inside the areas bounded by the roads, and those that are wage a continuous struggle against the encroachment of the savanna bush. In general, communities in this region are of the nucleated type. Even in Tamale, the region's largest town, there are many dwellings of an essentially rural type that give an almost rural appearance, although in the commercial center of the town and in suburbs where official residences are located completely modern city structures prevail.

In striking contrast to the nuclear settlements characteristic of most of the country, settlements in the extreme northeastern savanna region are of the dispersed type. Each unit is made up of a compound consisting of several houses usually linked together by a common wall. Except perhaps for a few buildings in an administrative center, the houses are generally round and built of mud, with conical roofs thatched with grass. Each compound houses an extended family of several generations, which cultivates the surrounding land. The intensive farming that is found in this region makes it difficult to determine where one settlement ends and another begins. Dispersed settlements also occur to a limited extent in the Accra Plains.

Settlements of an unusual type are found among the Krobo and Shai people in the Eastern Region and in other areas to which they have migrated. These consist of a tract of land divided into adjacent linear strips known as *huza* (see Glossary), which may be more than a mile in length. One of the narrow ends of the tract frequently faces on a stream or a road, and a compound is usually built at this end. Farming of the strip is of the shifting type, similar to that found in the high-forest zone, but is generally much more intensive.

POPULATION

A census based on a complete enumeration of the population was taken in early 1970. Preliminary figures showed a population of 8,545,561 persons, an increase of 27 percent over the 6,726,815 individuals counted in the preceding 1960 census (see table 1). A final total for the 1970 census was not anticipated until about the end of 1971.

Regional and Rural-Urban Distribution

The population density was roughly ninety-three persons per square mile in 1970, compared with about seventy-three persons per square mile at the time of the 1960 census. Distribution throughout the country, however, was very uneven. Relatively high densities were found in the south and the far northeast and northwest. Between these higher density regions a broad zone existed in which the population was quite sparse (see fig. 5).

The greatest general concentration occurs in the south in a roughly triangular area whose points center on Accra, Takoradi, and Kumasi. Densities in this triangle have been estimated at more than 200 persons per square mile. Economic factors have played an important role in bringing about this heavy concentration, including the location in the area of most of the major mines and known mineral deposits, almost half of the cocoa-producing regions, and the country's ports.

In contrast, a large part of the Volta Basin had population densities at the time of the 1960 census of less than twenty-five persons per square mile. Much of this area corresponds to what

Table 1. Population of Ghana, by Major Administrative Divisions, 1960 and 1970

Administrative division[1]	Population[2] 1960	Population[2] 1970[3]	Increase (in percent)	Average growth rate (in percent)
Accra Capital District	491.8	848.8	72.6	5.6
Ashanti	1,109.1	1,477.4	33.2	2.4
Brong-Ahafo	587.9	762.7	29.7	2.9
Central	751.4	892.6	18.8	1.7
Eastern	1,094.2	1,262.9	15.4	1.4
Northern	531.6	728.6	37.1	3.2
Upper	757.3	857.3	13.2	1.3
Volta	777.3	947.0	21.8	2.0
Western	626.2	768.3	22.7	2.1
Total	6,726.8	8,545.6	27.0	2.4

[1] Regions except for the Accra Capital District.

[2] In thousands.

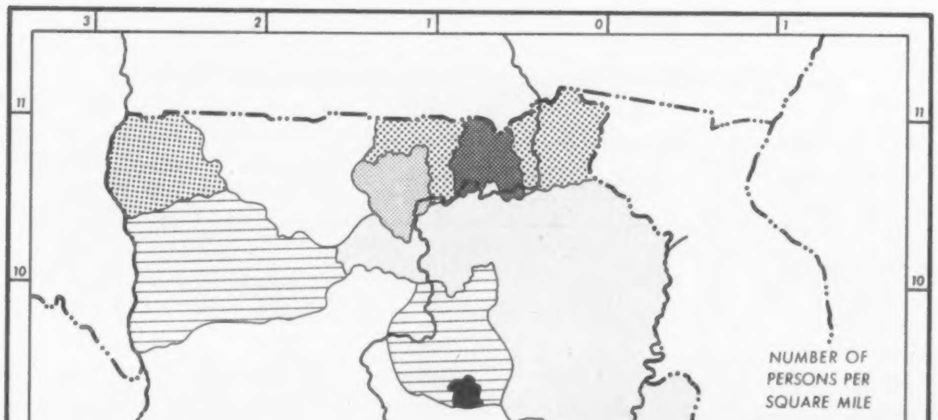
[3] Preliminary 1970 census figures.

Source: Adapted from Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E. N. Omaboe *Monthly Economic Bulletin* [Accra], No. 3, Mid-May 1970, p. 2.

has been called the Middle Belt and is characterized by generally infertile soils, a scarcity of water during the harmattan season, and frequently an overabundance during the rainy period, which results in flooding. There is also widespread occurrence of the tsetse fly, except in the more northerly part.

The concentrations of population in the extreme northeast and northwest are apparently explained in part by the somewhat better soil found in these areas and the general absence of the tsetse fly, although river blindness is endemic and has caused abandonment of some land (see ch. 6, Living Conditions). Population densities in the northeast averaged over 160 persons per square mile in the 1960 census. In one district it was more than 200 persons per square mile and in smaller divisions ran to over 400 persons per square mile, which in the subsistence economy characteristic of the northeast had resulted in serious overworking of the land. Densities in the northwest region averaged more than 100 persons per square mile.

Division of the population into rural and urban categories was made arbitrarily in the 1960 census: localities of 5,000 persons and over were classified as urban, and the remainder of the population was considered rural. On this basis, the urban population totaled 1,551,174 persons, or 23.1 percent. This percentage exceeded that in all other black African states. The


NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
0 to 18
19 to 36
37 to 54
55 to 73
74 to 99
100 to 199
200 to 299
300 to 399
400 & OVER
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5

Source: Adapted from Walter Birmingham. I. Neustadt, and E. N. Omaboe (eds.), *A Study of Contemporary Ghana*, II, Some Aspects of Social Structure, Evanston, 1967, p. 108.

Figure 5. Population Density of Ghana, 1960

urban population resided in 97 urban localities, two of which—Accra and Kumasi—accounted for one-third of all dwellers. The rural population numbered 5,175,641 persons, constituting 76.9 percent of the population. They lived in 30,300 localities, of which about two-thirds consisted of less than 100 individuals. A significant movement of population from the country to urban centers was reported during the 1960-70 intercensal period.

Migration and Urbanization

The 1960 census showed the population to be relatively highly mobile. More than two-fifths of the total population lived in localities that were not their birthplaces, and a majority of the people then in Accra stated that they had been born elsewhere. About one-eighth of native-born Ghanaians, approximately 831,000 persons, had moved to another administrative region. Immigrants from other regions constituted more than one-tenth of regional populations, exceeding emigrants in all but the Northern, Upper, and Volta regions, which showed net losses to the other regions. The principal emigrant areas included the entire Northern and Upper regions (with the exception of Tamale), the lower half of the Volta Region, and the coastal areas, except for Accra and the main towns. Accra, Tema, and Kumasi and the chief cocoa areas were the principal recipients of the immigrant stream.

Migration from foreign countries has centered principally on the same economically attractive areas to which native-born Ghanaians were drawn. Foreign immigrants have been heavy contributors to urban growth; in 1960, for example, they accounted for one out of five persons in Accra, compared with a proportion of one in twelve in rural areas. Many foreign migrants were also found in border areas across from Upper Volta in northern Ghana, and many Ewe from adjacent Togo were in the Volta Region. Although many foreign migrants remained in the country for comparatively short periods, there was evidence that substantial numbers who came because of higher income possibilities in Ghana actually stayed on as long-term settlers.

The 1960 census also revealed that the country's urban population (that is, the population in towns of over 5,000 persons) was increasing much more rapidly than the population in rural areas. Between 1960 and the previous 1948 census, the urban population grew at an average annual rate of 9.2 percent—three times the 3.1 percent average annual growth rate of the rural population. The trend to urban centers presumably continued at a high rate during the 1960-70 intercensal period. Some indication of this can be seen in the estimated increase in population in Accra and Kumasi between 1960 and 1966. In the six-year period Accra rose from 337,800 to 521,900 inhabitants, representing an average annual growth rate of 7.5 percent. During the same time Kumasi increased from 180,600 to 249,200, or at an annual 5.5 percent rate of growth.

Age and Sex Distribution

The country has a high proportion of young people, with half of the population estimated in the latter 1960s to be under eighteen years of age. The 1960 census showed almost 45 percent of the population in the age group between birth and fourteen years. Another 52 percent was in the economically active fifteen-to-sixty-four-year age group, and the remaining slightly over 3 percent was sixty-five years of age and above (see fig. 6).

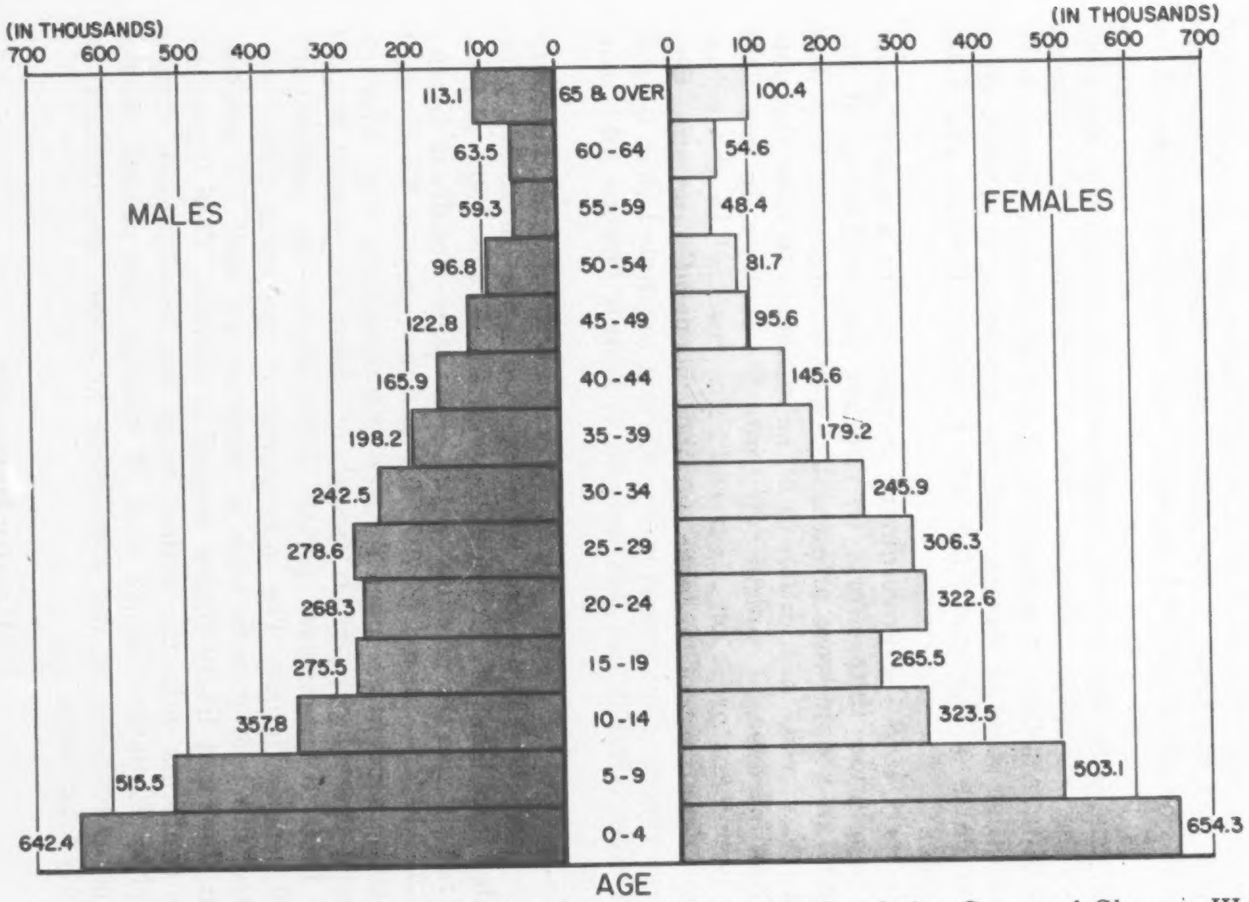
The sex ratio in the total population in the 1960 census was 102.2 males to 100 females. The native-born population, however, had a lower ratio of 97.7 males to 100 females. The difference was accounted for by the large preponderance of males among immigrants, among whom the ratio was 170.6 males to 100 females. The sex ratio of Ghanaians at birth appears to be almost at parity, and male mortality rates throughout life are very close to those of females. This contrasts with much of the world where more males than females are born, but there is a higher male death rate.

The sex ratio varied within different parts of the country, apparently as the result of internal migration of males to areas of greater economic activity. For example, in 1960 males predominated in most of the Ashanti Region and the Brong-Ahafo Region and parts of the Western Region where cocoa planting was expanding into the high-forest areas. North of the high-forest zone males also were predominant, except in the Upper Region, which presumably was related to the expansion of small-scale agriculture in the area. In the Upper Region, where limited economic prospects resulted in the emigration of males, females considerably outnumbered males.

Rate of Population Growth

Both fertility and mortality, two important factors in population growth, are high in Ghana. During the 1960s the mortality rate showed a decline and, with government efforts to improve health and nutrition, a further drop may be anticipated in the 1970s. In contrast, the fertility rate remained high, with the average woman having between six and seven children and the completed family averaging almost seven children. Some small differences existed between fertility rates in rural and urban areas, those in the town being slightly lower, possibly presaging a future decline. At the start of the 1970 decade, however, there was little evidence that any significant change was imminent.

Estimates placed the crude birth rate in 1968 at between 47 and 52 births per 1,000 population, with government sources noting that population experts were inclined toward the higher figure. The International Demographic Statistics Center, United



Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Census Office, *1960 Population Census of Ghana,* III, Demographic Characteristics, Accra, 1964, pp. 3-7.

Figure 6. Population of Ghana, by Age and Sex, 1960

States Bureau of the Census, estimated the rate at about 50 per 1,000 in 1969. The center also estimated the crude death rate for the same year at 20 per 1,000 population, giving a rate of natural increase of 3 percent.

Immigration has played a considerable part in population growth. At the time of the 1960 census one-eighth of the population, or about 828,000 persons, was of foreign origin. More than 97 percent of this number were from other West African countries, with the largest numbers coming from the Republic of Togo (281,000), Upper Volta (195,000), and Nigeria (191,000). Another 1 percent of those of foreign origin were from other parts of Africa, and the remaining 2 percent, from other parts of the world (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

In early 1969 the government pointed out in a policy paper on population that efforts to improve the well-being of the Ghanaian people were affected by open immigration and that there was need, in addition to other measures to slow the population increase, to control entry into the country. In late 1969 a government order on alien residence resulted in the subsequent departure of a large number of non-Ghanaians. One source reports that government officials estimated that by fall 1970 over 300,000 had left (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Those who left before the 1970 census date—by late February 1970 over 100,000 persons were reported gone—presumably included numbers of individuals counted in the 1960 census. There was also the possibility that some aliens legally in Ghana avoided being counted in 1970 for various reasons. This would possibly account in part for the comparatively low average annual rate of population growth of about 2.4 percent during the 1960–70 intercensal period indicated by the preliminary 1970 census figures. The government in the latter 1960s estimated the true growth rate at between 2.7 and 3.3 percent, with the most likely figure around 3 percent. This 3 percent rate conforms with the estimates of the International Demographic Statistics Center and, if merely maintained, would bring a doubling of the population in about twenty-three or twenty-four years.

Family Planning

A survey, sponsored by the Population Council, carried out between 1962 and 1964 in rural areas of the country and among the economically better-off urban population showed that rural familes favored a total of seven or eight children and that the actual number of children in the better-off urban family ran between five and six. In neither case was there much indication of interest in limiting the size of the family, although the urban group stated that it would recommend to newly married persons a maximum of three or four children. About two-fifths of the urban women and close to one-quarter of the rural women interviewed, however, expressed interest in learning more about family limitation. In the urban centers, moreover, among the economically better-off more than two-thirds of both males and females favored the establishment of family planning clinics.

The Ghanaian government has long shown an active interest in the population question. It was a cosponsor of the Resolution on Population Growth and Economic Development in the 1962-63 session of the United Nations General Assembly and was the first sub-Saharan country to sign the World Leaders Declaration on Population in 1967. In 1969 it issued a general policy paper, Population Planning for National Progress and Prosperity, that included provisions for family planning services at all government health facilities. Subsequently, in 1969 it carried out a mass publicity and educational campaign on family planning and during late 1970 sponsored a family planning week, designed to encourage acceptance of planning. It has also utilized the services of a consultant supplied by the Ford Foundation to help organize a comprehensive national family planning program.

Some family planning services have been available since 1966, when the Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana was formed. This organization has branches in Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi, and Takoradi. Family planning services were also provided in 1970 by the Ghana Christian Council of Churches at facilities in Accra, Tema, Ho, and Kumasi and by the University of Ghana Medical School Clinic and several other clinics in Accra.

The United States aid program in Ghana has furnished technical and financial support to the government's efforts to promote family planning. This support has included assistance in a three-year family planning project, which was underway in 1970, carried out by the Demographic Unit of the Sociology Department of the University of Ghana to collect basic demographic data and information on family planning knowledge, attitudes, and practices. The aid program has also funded a rural pilot project incorporating family planning with basic health services, as well as the training of medical and paramedical personnel.

MANPOWER

The country's labor force, composed of individuals aged fifteen years and above, was estimated to be about 3.4 million to 3.5 million in 1970 (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). The 1960 census showed more than three-fifths of the active labor force to be males. Over 90 percent of the men between the ages of twenty and fifty-nine were engaged in some form of work, whereas only about 52 to 71 percent of the women between twenty and fifty-nine years of age were economically active. A greater percentage of the women in older age groups were employed than in the younger age brackets. This presumably reflected greater freedom from household duties and child rearing, which kept many younger women from being members of the active labor force.

Data available from the 1960 census showed a relatively low educational level among the labor force. For instance, about 45 percent of professional, technical, and related personnel and administrative, executive, and managerial staffs had not gone beyond middle school. During the decade of the 1960s, however, the country's schools turned out increasing numbers of graduates (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences). Changes were made in the educational system to bring graduates into the labor force earlier, and additional emphasis was placed on vocational education. Enrollment was also increased in the institutions of higher education. As a result, the number of individuals annually completing training for positions as technicians and specialists and for professional jobs rose to an estimated 37,000 in 1967, compared with 5,800 in 1960.

As of 1970, however, those that had left middle school possessed only a very general and limited education, and those completing secondary school were reported to require considerable further training in basic theory and practical skills to fit into middle level administrative, managerial, and technical positions. The supply of graduates from higher educational institutions rose substantially during the 1960s; however, shortages of higher level manpower continued as of 1970, although there were some indications that an excess of graduates in certain fields might be developing.

In some cases, shortages of higher level manpower were aggravated by the lack of sufficient, adequately trained supporting staffs. This resulted, for instance, in many doctors doing work that could actually be carried out by technicians. The short supply of qualified engineers reported in 1970 would be alleviated to some extent if a sufficient number of trained technicans were available to work with them.

Shortages of top-level managerial personnel also existed in 1970, and there were requirements for additional staff at the middle level, such as foremen and shop floor supervisors. At the levels of artisan, craftsman, and secretary, skills were generally low. Some private businesses operated training programs for employees, and the Trade Union Congress also ran courses for its members. In addition, fifteen technical training schools, as well as nine commercial-secondary schools, were in existence in the school year 1968/69.

Estimates made in 1967 classified 4 percent of the labor force as skilled. Another 16 percent was considered semiskilled, and the remaining 80 percent was in the unskilled category. The 1960 census showed almost 75,000 individuals classified as professional and technical personnel and managerial and administrative workers. They constituted a comparatively high proportion of the population compared with other black African countries.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL SETTING

As early as the end of the sixteenth century most of the ethnic groups constituting the Ghanaian population in 1970 had settled in their present locations (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). The centuries preceding full British control of the area in the late nineteenth century were marked, however, by the formation, expansion, and contraction of a number of African states, which often entailed the movement of groups of people from outside the territory or from one place to another within it.

In part, the processes of state formation and development were directly or indirectly influenced by attempts to participate in, or to control, trade with the Europeans who began to come to the coast as early as the fifteenth century. To a considerable extent, however, the growth or decline of these states and the relations among them were responses to patterns of trade, particularly between north and south, that preceded European incursion and to internal dynamics peculiar to the states themselves.

The development of a national consciousness gathered momentum in the twentieth century coinciding in large part with the drive toward independence. Similar stirrings occurred in other black African colonies, although the Gold Coast, as the country was known until independence in 1957, generally led the way. In the post-World War II atmosphere of disintegrating colonial empires, the movement soon developed into a force that could not be denied. Although it had been conceived originally by a few militant leaders, the concept of independence readily captured the popular imagination and gained strong support from virtually every segment of the population. As an emotional outlet, it served to develop pride in a purely African heritage that is now an important element in the attitude and outlook of the nation.

The adaptation of groups of varied ethnic origin to different physical environments—generally forest or coastal in the south and savanna in the north—and the differential impact of Islam moving from the north and European influence penetrating from the coast in the south led to significant differences between the people of northern and southern Ghana that have persisted in the years since independence (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population; ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). The peoples of the south have generally been more ready than those of the north to adapt to or adopt aspects of Western culture, ranging from Christianity and education to participation in more modern forms of economic organization and enterprise (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences; ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

The history of the first nine years of the postindependence era was dominated by one man, Kwame Nkrumah. As leader of the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), after 1959 effectively the country's only political party, and as the government's chief executive, he came to hold most of the reins of power. His energies were divided between efforts to lead the movement for the independence and unification of the rest of Africa and attempts to further Ghana's own development. Domestically, he sought first to create a highly centralized political structure, which first altered and then replaced the constitutional concept and focused power in his hands. Particularly after the adaptation of a republican constitution and the end of dominion status in 1960, he tried to identify all elements of the national life with his own personality. All opposition, either from other parties or from within the ruling party, was interpreted and treated as treasonous behavior.

Nkrumah directed considerable criticism against the Western powers, which he saw as attempting to continue their economic control and political domination over the former colonial countries. He adopted a strong Socialist line, copying programs wholesale from the Communist states. He espoused a doctrine of nonalignment between the West and Communist power blocs, but he sought closer ties to the Communist countries on many issues. He remained, however, an ardent pan-Africanist, using the language of Marxism only when it was convenient to his purposes. In his eagerness to industrialize the country he continued to rely upon both groups of developed countries for assistance and loans.

In the nine years between 1957 and 1966 Nkrumah's policies depleted the strong financial reserves the country had at independence and plunged Ghana into economic chaos (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations; ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). His expenditures resulted from his efforts to industrialize without proper planning and to build up Ghana's and Nkrumah's image no matter what the costs. Falling prices for the country's prime product, cocoa, and widespread corruption further weakened both the economy and the government's influence over the people, upon whom the economic deterioration weighed heavily.

Despite domination of the channels of public information and education by his ideological supporters, by the mid-1960s Nkrumah had lost the popular support that had sustained him in his power struggles for more than a decade. In February 1966 army and police leaders, dismayed by his handling of the government, deposed him while he was on a trip to Hanoi. The CPP was outlawed. The coup leaders formed the National Liberation Council and pledged to restore civil liberties, economic sanity, and democratic government as rapidly as possible (see ch. 8, The Governmental System; ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

THE PRECOLONIAL PERIOD

Beginning in the late 1950s and accelerating in the 1960s there has been a sustained effort by many Ghanaian as well as European and American scholars to develop a variety of sources—oral history, archaeology, and records in European and African languages and Arabic—in order to construct as detailed a picture as possible of the history of the peoples of Ghana from early times through the nineteenth century. In late 1970, however, a generally acceptable synthesis, except for broad outlines, had not yet been achieved.

Information that indicates the location and relations of some of the peoples ancestral to the present inhabitants goes back to the thirteenth century. Oral history and other sources suggest, however, that some of those ancestors entered the area between the Volta River and Comoe River (in western Ivory Coast) at least as early as the tenth century and that migration from the north and east continued for some centuries thereafter. Recent archaeological work in central Ghana (north of the forest zone) suggests that this area was inhabited as much as 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, but a link between these earlier inhabitants and known ancestors of the present population has yet to be established.

In part the stimulus for these migrations lay in the repercussions of the formation and disintegration of a series of great states in the western Sudan (in the region drained by the upper and middle Niger River) and by others in what is now northern Nigeria. The area that now constitutes Ghana was not integrally a part of any of these states. Some of the kingdoms later developed in northern Ghana, however, were ruled by immigrants (speakers of Mande languages) ethnically related to the ruling peoples of the empire of Mali, the successor to the earlier states in the Western Sudan, and some of the peoples in the southern half of Ghana engaged in regular trade with the states of the Sudan.

By the thirteenth century Jenne, a town on the Bani River (a southern tributary of the Niger), had established connections with the people north of the forest line in modern Ghana. Jenne was the headquarters of Dyula traders, ethnically similar to the rulers of the empire of Mali. The groups with which they traded were the ancestors of the Akan-speaking peoples who occupy most of the southern half of modern Ghana (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

The growth of trade stimulated the development of early Akan states located on the trade route to the goldfields in the forest zone of the south. The forest itself was relatively thinly populated, but Akan speakers began to move into it, especially as crops from Southeast Asia and the New World, adaptable to forest conditions, became available toward the end of the fifteenth century. By the beginning of the sixteenth century European sources noted the existence of the gold-rich states of Akany and Twifu in the Ofin River valley.

In the same period some of the Mande who had stimulated the development of states in what is now northern Nigeria (the Hausa states and those in the Lake Chad area) moved southwestward to impose themselves on many of the indigenous peoples of the northern half of modern Ghana and Upper Volta and founded the states of Dagomba and Mamprusi. Somewhat later, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, a different group of Mande speakers who had settled in early Akan kingdoms north of the forest moved still farther north to establish the kingdom of Gonja, which lay between the Akan societies in the south and the Mossi groups of states (Dagomba and Mamprusi and the Mossi kingdoms of Upper Volta) to the north.

The rulers of Dagomba, Mamprusi, Gonja, and other entities abandoned their own Mande tongues after a time and came to speak the languages of the peoples they dominated. In general, however, they have retained the tradition and, in some cases, fairly detailed accounts of their northern origin .

Although the rulers were not themselves usually Muslims, they either brought with them or welcomed Muslims as scribes, traders, and medicine men. Beginning in the fifteenth century or earlier and through the eighteenth century, Islam had substantial influence in the north and, even to some extent in the Akan states, particulary Ashanti. Actual conversion of the mass of northern Ghanaians did not go as far as it did in the Sudan, but the Muslims brought with them certain skills, including writing, and beliefs and practices that became part of the culture of the peoples among whom they settled. Muslims also played a significant role in the trade that linked southern with northern Ghanaians and both with the peoples of the Sudan.

Of the components that make up Ghana, Ashanti had the most cohesive history and exercised an influence on Ghana out of proportion to its size or present position. The Ashanti are members of the Twi-speaking branch of the Akan people. The groups who came to constitute the core of the Ashanti confederacy moved north to settle in the vicinity of Lake Bosumtwi. Before the mid-seventeenth century, under a series of militant leaders, they undertook an aggressive policy that led them to dominate surrounding tribes and form the most powerful of the states of the central forest zone.

Under Chief Oti Akenten (ca. 1630-60), a series of successful military operations brought the immediate surrounding territory under subjugation. This was the beginning of an alliance of states that was to be known as the Ashanti Confederation.

At the end of the seventeenth century Osei Tutu (ca. 1697-1731) became *asantehene* (king) of Ashanti, and under his rule the alliance of Ashanti states threw off the domination of Dankyira, which had been the most powerful state in the coastal hinterland area and had been exacting tribute from most of the other Akan groups in the central forest. The capital of the confederation was moved to Kumasi, and consolidation of further conquests continued under a firmly established centralized authority.

Osei Tutu was strongly influenced by Okomfo Anokye, Ashanti high priest. Anokye was credited with magical powers. Ashanti tradition asserts that, at a council of Ashanti chiefs, he caused a stool of gold to descend from the sky and settle gently on the knees of Osei Tutu. Stools were already firmly established as traditional symbols of chieftainship, but the Golden Stool of Ashanti was accepted as representing the united spirit of all the allied states and established a dual allegiance that superimposed the confederacy over the individual component states. It remains a respected national symbol of the traditional past and figures extensively in tribal ritual and ceremony.

Osei Tutu permitted newly conquered territories that joined the confederation to retain their own customs, and their chiefs were generally retained and given seats on the national state council. As most of the earlier conquests were over other Akan peoples, this was a relatively easy and nondisruptive process. A strong unity developed as the various communities sublimated their individual interests to the central authority.

In 1731 Osei Tutu and most of his generals were ambushed and killed while on a military expedition to the south. The nation had by this time become so firmly welded together that it survived this disaster and continued its expansion. Under succeeding chiefs, boundaries were extended southward, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ashanti were invading and struggling for control of the Fante coastal states, on whose shores the European traders had by this time established extensive posts and fortifications (see fig. 7).

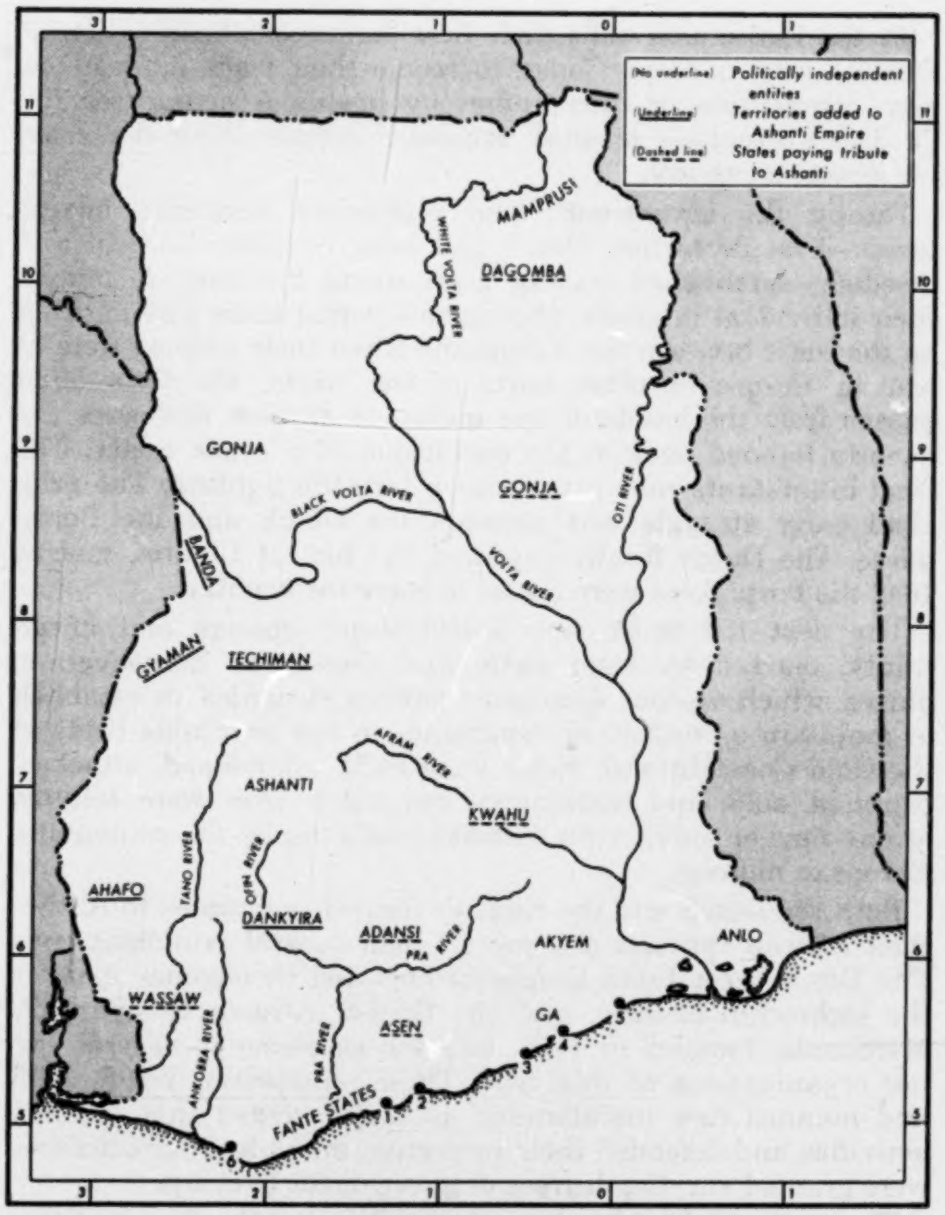
By the mid-eighteenth century Ashanti was a highly organized state. Although it was still known as a confederation, since the institution of the golden stool the members had given up many of their individual sovereign rights; each subordinate element owed allegiance to the *asantehene*, and chiefs of the separate divisions were required to seek recognition by the *asantehene*. Although this arrangement was limited somewhat by the jealously guarded prerogatives of subordinate chiefs, it was a potent force.

The Ashanti wars started as movements of national resistance to the encroaching migrations of alien tribes from the outside, but in the course of the eighteenth century they developed largely into an instrument of political expansion and aggrandizement. Ashanti expansion during the eighteenth century led to greater or lesser control over trade both to the south and the north. Northern as well as southern states paid tribute to Ashanti, and most important trade routes came to a focus in Kumasi, a pattern that has prevailed (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

The steady expansion southward brought the Ashanti into contact with the European traders of the Gold Coast, and the conquest of the peoples between Ashanti and the sea was inspired principally by the desire to control the profitable commerce with the coastal establishments of the Europeans. But the resultant expansion, although profitable, sowed the seeds of eventual dissension; as newly conquered groups were brought into the union, many of whom did not share in Ashanti background or feeling of national unity, the basis was laid for a dangerous threat to the integrity of the confederation and the ultimate defeat of its armies.

When the first Europeans arrived in the late fifteenth century, the inhabitants of the Gold Coast area were striving to consolidate their newly acquired territories and settle into a secure and permanent pattern. Many of the migrant groups had still to establish their firm ascendancy over earlier occupants of their territories, and considerable displacement and secondary mass migrations were still in progress. The major groups along the coast, however, such as the Fante, Ewe, and Ga, were fairly well entrenched in their respective areas.

The Portuguese were the first to arrive. By 1471, under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator, they had reached the area that was to become known as the Gold Coast, so named because they saw it as the source of much of the gold that had


(No underline) Politically independent entities
(Underline) Territories added to Ashanti Empire
(Dashed line) States paying tribute to Ashanti
MAMPRUSI
DAGOMBA
WHITE VOLTA RIVER
GONJA
GONJA
BLACK VOLTA RIVER
OTI RIVER
VOLTA RIVER
BANDA
GYAMAN
TECHIMAN
AFRAM RIVER
ASHANTI
KWAHU
TANO RIVER
OFIN RIVER
AHAFO
DANKYIRA
ADANSI
PRA RIVER
AKYEM
ANLO
WASSAW
ASEN
GA
ANKOBRA RIVER
PRA RIVER
FANTE STATES
1
2
3
4
5
6
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5

Sites of Major European Fortresses

1. St. George at Elmina. Portuguese, 1482-1637 (Dutch, 1637-1872).
2. Amsterdam at Kormantin. British, 1631-65 (Dutch, 1665-1867).
3. Crevecoeur at Accra. Dutch, 1650-1867.
4. Christiansborg at Osu (near Accra). Swedes, 1652-59 (Danes, 1659-1850).
5. Fredensborg at Ningo. Danes, 1734-1850.
6. Gross Friedrichsburg. Prussians, 1685-1709 (later Dutch).

Figure 7. Expansion of the Ashanti Empire and Major European Fortresses in Ghana Before 1872

been reaching Muslim North Africa by way of the desert routes of the Sahara.

Trade in gold, ivory, and pepper rapidly increased, and in

1482 the Portuguese built their first permanent fortification at Elmina, west of Cape Coast, to secure their trade against foreign competition or interruption by hostile Africans (see fig. 7). The Portuguese position remained secure along the coast for almost a century.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries adventurers—first Protestant Dutch and later English, Danish, and Swedish—established trading posts along the coast to protect their individual interests. During this period there was fighting on the coast between the Europeans when their nations were at war in Europe or other parts of the world; the forts often passed from the hands of one nation to another and were frequently handed back at the conclusion of a peace treaty. The local inhabitants were often drawn into the fighting. The principal early struggle was between the Dutch and the Portuguese. The Dutch finally captured the fort at Elmina, and in 1642 the Portuguese were forced to leave the country.

The next 150 years saw kaleidoscopic change and uncertainty, marked by local strife and diplomatic maneuvering, during which various European powers struggled to establish or maintain a position of dominance in the profitable trade of the Gold Coast littoral. Forts were built, abandoned, attacked, captured, sold, and exchanged, and many sites were selected at one time or another for fortified positions by the contending European nations.

Both the Dutch and the English formed companies to further their African ventures and protect their coastal establishments. The Dutch West India Company operated throughout most of the eighteenth century, and the British African Company of Merchants, founded in 1750, was the successor to several earlier organizations of this type. These enterprises, which built and manned new installations as they pursued their trading activities and defended their respective individual jurisdictions, were granted varying degrees of government backing.

There were short-lived ventures by the Swedes and the Prussians. The Danes remained until the middle of the nineteenth century, when they sold their forts to the British. As the eighteenth century came to a close, the English had gained possession of all the Dutch forts except Kormantin and were steadily gaining a dominant position in the entire Gold Coast.

Although European adventurers who followed the Portuguese to the country occasionally carried away some slaves, they came to trade in ivory, spices and, above all, gold. Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, the suddenly expanded demand for slaves in the Americas gave increasing impetus to the slave trade, and slaves soon overshadowed gold as the principal export of the area. The seemingly insatiable market and the substantial profits to be gained attracted adventurers from all over Europe, and much of the conflict among European groups on the coast and competing African kingdoms was the result of rivalry for control of this trade. The west coast of Africa became the principal source of slaves.

Slave trading was already firmly entrenched in West Africa. Captives in intertribal warfare had long been held as slaves; incursions from the outside carried slaves off to North Africa and Arabia. In general, however, slaves in African communities were well treated and often considered members of the family, and the institution was quite different from the brutalized commercial ventures that resulted from the profitable trade across the Atlantic.

The supply of slaves to the coast was entirely in African hands, mainly the Ashanti and the strong coastal tribes, including the Fante and Ahanta. The local merchants jealously guarded their monopoly of the trade. The weaker tribes of the interior were raided and in some cases decimated. The European coastal forts, originally established to dominate the coastal trade in gold, became depots where the slaves captured in the interior could be bought by European agents and held until they were shipped.

The volume of the slave trade in West Africa grew rapidly from its inception around 1500 to its peak in the eighteenth century. After the trade was made illegal in the early nineteenth century, the volume in this area diminished. Philip Curtin, a leading authority, estimates that roughly 6.3 million slaves were shipped from West African slave ports, more than 4.5 million in the period from 1701 to 1810. Of the total, roughly 500,000 were shipped from the Gold Coast alone. No reliable estimate is available of those who died while awaiting shipment or were killed in the course of slave trading.

The competition among native states for shares in the proceeds led to ruinous wars, which distracted the people from trade of other kinds and agriculture. The reduction in population was probably substantially greater than the number actually enslaved. Families were uprooted, and entire tribes often relocated in an effort to escape the slaver. Such moves were often to less favored territories of poor soil and other natural handicaps, with resultant disease and famine adding to the already heavy burden.

All of the nations with an interest in West Africa participated in the slave trade. Relations with the local populations were often strained, and distrust led to friction and frequent clashes. Disease caused high losses among the Europeans engaged in the slave trade, but the profits realized from the trade continued to attract them.

The early and growing sentiment among Europeans against slavery made slow progress against the vested interests that were reaping profits from the traffic. Although individual clergymen condemned the slave trade as early as the seventeenth century, the churches themselves did little to further the early efforts at abolition. The Quakers, however, publicly declared their position against slavery as early as 1727. Later in the century trading in slaves was abolished by Denmark, and Sweden and the Netherlands soon followed.

The importation of slaves to the United States was made illegal in 1807. Militant campaigning by British reformers resulted not only in the outlawing of the trade by British citizens in the same year but also in strong British naval and diplomatic efforts to end the exportation of slaves from West Africa. These efforts did not meet with complete success, however, until the 1860s.

The immediate result of the end of the trade in the Gold Coast itself was stagnation and depression. Much of the local economy had been based on slaves, and other resources and opportunities had been largely neglected. Efforts to continue illegal traffic in slaves brought the native inhabitants into conflict with the British. England found itself more and more involved in local problems and domestic affairs, which led to a marked change in the position of England with respect to the Gold Coast and was to have pronounced effects on the future course and development of the area.

BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

By the early years of the nineteenth century the British, through conquest or purchase, were masters of most of the forts along the coast. Two major factors laid the foundations of British rule and led to the eventual establishment of the colony: the increasing involvement in local affairs brought about in reaction to the Ashanti wars and the resultant instability and disruption of trade and the growing problem of the suppression and elimination of the slave trade. Despite the reluctance of the British government during the early part of the nineteenth century to expand its colonial interests, it gradually assumed responsibility for maintaining peace and protecting trade for British merchants in the area.

During most of the nineteenth century the Ashanti sought to expand their rule and to further or protect their trade. Ashanti incursions into the coastal areas led inevitably to a direct conflict with the British. The first invasion took place in 1807; the

Ashanti moved south again in 1811 and 1814. These invasions, though not decisive, disrupted trade in such products as gold, timber, and palm oil and threatened the security of the European forts. Local British, Dutch, and Danish authorities were all forced to come to terms with the Ashanti, and in 1817 the African Company of Merchants signed a treaty of friendship that recognized Ashanti claims to sovereignty over large areas of the coastal lands and peoples.

The coastal people, primarily the Fante, and the inhabitants of Accra, chiefly Ga, came to rely on British protection against the Ashanti incursions, but the ability of the merchant companies to provide this security was limited. The crown dissolved the company in 1821 and took over the forts in order to impose peace and end the slave trade. Incidents and sporadic warfare continued in various parts of the south. An Ashanti invasion in 1826 was defeated by a combined force of British, Fante, Akyem, and the people of Accra. A new treaty in 1831 resulted in a long period of peace and expanding trade.

In the meantime, the British government again allowed control of the Gold Coast settlements to revert to the merchants. A London committee of merchants chose Captain George Maclean as the president of a local council of merchants, and he established himself at Cape Coast in 1830.

Maclean's achievements were substantial, although his formal jurisdiction was very limited. A parliamentary committee recommended that the British government permanently administer the settlements and negotiate treaties with the coastal chiefs that would define British relations with them. The government did so in 1843 and thus took a significant step in shaping the future destiny of the Gold Coast. A new governor, Commander Hill, was selected.

Under Maclean's administration, several coastal tribes had submitted voluntarily to British protection, and Hill proceeded to define clearly the conditions and responsibilities of his jurisdiction over the protected areas. He negotiated an agreement with a number of Fante and other local chiefs that became known as the Bond of 1844. This document, intented to legalize and clarify obligations of the tribal leaders to end human sacrifices and submit serious crimes, such as murder and robbery, to British jurisdiction, became the legal steppingstone to colonial status through its protection of the land and the authority of the traditional chiefs. Additional states along the coast, as well as some farther inland, became signatories to the Bond of 1844 in succeeding years, and British influence was accepted, strengthened, and expanded.

In 1850 the Danes left the territory and sold their coastal forts to the British. Commercially, these forts become a liability since they were all on the arid coastal strip, unsuited to tropical crops and off the main gold routes. Their principal revenues had come from the slave trade, now at an end. These settlements and their surrounding territories accepted British protection under the Bond of 1844, thus extending the crown's sphere of influence over an extensive area east of Accra. Another important development in Gold Coast affairs in 1850 was the separation of the region from the other British West African colony of Sierra Leone and the establishment of a separate government.

At about this time, a growing acceptance by the local population of some of the material advantages offered by Western forms led to the initiation of another important step forward. In April 1852 a large assembly of local chiefs and elders met at Cape Coast to consult with the governor on means of raising revenues. Apparently with the governor's approval, it constituted itself as a legislative assembly.

In approving and confirming the assembly's resolutions, the governor indicated that the assembly of chiefs should be a permanent fixture of the colony's constitutional machinery and a means of facilitating indirect control of the population. Fundamentally, the assembly had no constitutional authority to pass laws or levy taxes without the express consent of the people. In 1861, when dissatisfaction and riots resulted from the poll tax passed by the assembly, the tax was abandoned.

The last Ashanti invasion of the coast took place in 1873. It followed the departure of the Dutch from the country in 1872 and the sale of their forts and possessions to the British. The Ashanti, who for years had been friendly with the people of the former Dutch settlement at Elmina, thus lost their last foothold on the coast as well as their influence over its inhabitants. After early successes in their attack, the Ashanti finally came up against well-trained British forces, which forced them to retreat and evacuate the area. They retired northward across the Pra River and never again returned to the coast in force.

In an effort to settle the Ashanti problem permanently, the British decided to invade the country with a sizable military force. The attack was launched in January 1874 with a carefully trained army of 2,500 British soldiers and large numbers of African auxiliaries. Although the Ashanti fought well, they were unable to stand up to the superior weapons of the British; their capital, Kumasi, was occupied and burned, and their forces were scattered.

The subsequent peace treaty imposed an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold (which was never paid) and required the

Ashanti to renounce claims to many southern territories. They were also required to keep the road to Kumasi open to trade and to abolish the practice of human sacrifice. From this point on, Ashanti's position as a power began a steady decline. The confederation slowly disintegrated as subject territories broke away and protected regions defected to British rule. The warrior spirit of the nation was not entirely subdued, however, and enforcement of the terms of the treaty led to recurring difficulties and outbreaks of further fighting. In 1896 the British sent in an expedition that again occupied Kumasi and this time forced the Ashanti to accept the protection of the crown. The position of *asantehene* was done away with, and the incumbent, Agyemen Prempeh, was exiled.

The Ashanti accepted these terms with brooding rancor and a temporary political lethargy that was to be a contributing factor in the relatively slower development of nationalism in the region. They retained a strong feeling of local unity and an underlying independence of thought and action.

On January 1, 1902, Ashanti became a colony under the governor of the Gold Coast. The annexation was made with misgivings and recriminations on both sides. The Ashanti believed that the British were guilty of sharp practices and treachery and had not given their leaders an opportunity to come to a mutually acceptable agreement. The general feeling was that the British action was based entirely on a desire to extort more money, and this attitude created ill will and distrust, which persisted for many years. From the British point of view, annexation was the only way to stablize the country and ensure its security. Direct control seemed to them to be the only effective method for restoring order and dealing with the recurring disputes between rival groups that were constantly adding to the disruption of stability and trade.

The recent history of Ashanti has been one of slowly increasing stability and adaptation to the new order. The confederation was nominally restored in 1935, and the *asantehene* was permitted to return. The territory became one of Ghana's eight political regions and an important element in the nation's social structure and economy.

Further Expansion of British Rule

The defeat of the Ashanti paved the way for peaceful prosperity in the coastal territories, but it also implied acceptance of British responsibility for maintaining peace and security. In order to facilitate their administration and consolidate their control over what had become a recognizably cohesive entity, Britain annexed the protected states in 1874. The Gold Coast became a crown colony, and its people became British subjects.

The people affected did not greet this move with enthusiasm, feeling that the Bond of 1844 had been arbitrarily set aside and that the signatories had been treated as though they were conquered territories. The view was held particularly by the groups that had been members of the Fante Confederation, a short-lived (1867-72) alliance of Fante states formed for mutual protection against the Ashanti and to further the welfare and progress of their peoples. Nevertheless, because Great Britain made no claim to any rights to the land and the task of administering the territory was greatly facilitated by the establishment of clear legal responsibility as a colony, popular resistance was slight and passive.

In 1876 the British moved the colonial capital to Accra from Cape Coast, where the early governors had all set up their headquarters and focus of operations. The Gold Coast, which comprised the coastal areas extending inland to the ill-defined borders of Ashanti, became known as the Gold Coast Colony. In 1902, when Ashanti was annexed, it also became a crown colony and was placed under the authority of a chief commissioner who was responsible to the governor of the Gold Coast.

In the meantime, the British became interested in the broad areas north of Ashanti, which were to become known generally as the Northern Territories. They were prompted primarily by the need to forestall the French and Germans, who had been making rapid advances in the surrounding territories. British officials had first penetrated the area in the 1880s, and after 1896 protection was extended to the northern areas, where the trade with the coast was controlled by Ashanti. In 1898 and 1899 the boundaries between the Northern Territories and the French colonies of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, as well as German Togoland, were fixed amicably by treaty between the colonial powers.

The British officially proclaimed the Northern Territories a protectorate in 1902. Their control then extended over an area that stretched roughly 400 miles into the interior and contained more than 2 million inhabitants. The Gold Coast, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories, all but one of the territories that constitute modern Ghana, thus came under one governor.

Although the Northern Territories were not constituted a crown colony, as were the Gold Coast and Ashanti, the British government gave the governor of the Gold Coast authority to exercise jurisdiction and administration over them. The three territories became for all practical purposes a single political unit, although it was not until the 1951 Constitution that the

Northern Territories were given a share in the central government of the dependency, as the combined territory then came to be known.

The present Volta Region, which had been part of German Togoland, was captured by Gold Coast forces in World War I. It was made a British mandated territory by the League of Nations and administered as part of the adjoining Gold Coast. After World War II it became a trust territory of the United Nations under British supervision.

Colonial Administration

Beginning in 1850 the Gold Coast Colony was administered by the governor, who was assisted by the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The Executive Council was an advisory body, consisting of not more than five senior European officials, that recommended laws and voted taxes, subject to the governor's approval. The Legislative Council was composed of official members, including those of the Executive Council, and unofficial members. Initially, unofficial members were chosen from local British commercial interests. After 1900 the Legislative Council included six Africans—three chiefs and three prominent individuals from the Europeanized communities of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi. Until 1925 all members were appointed by the governor. The official members always outnumbered the unofficial members by at least one.

The gradual emergence of centralized colonial government brought about unified control by government departments over the services through which local needs were supplied, although the actual administration of these services was still delegated to local officials or councils. Specific duties and responsibilities came to be clearly delineated, and the role of traditional states in local rule was outlined in a series of successive ordinances.

The structure of local government had its roots in tradition. Village councils of chiefs and elders dealt with the immediate needs of a locality and provided for its required services. Traditional law and order had been almost exclusively in the hands of these councils, which developed general responsibility for the overall welfare of their locality. The councils, however, ruled by consent rather than by right. The chiefs were elected by the ruling strata of the society and required the approval of the commoners. The unseating or destooling (see Glossary) of a chief by his elders was a fairly common practice if he failed to meet the desires or expectations of the community.

The British authorities adopted a system known as indirect rule as an economic means of administering the country and ensuring order. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the major impact of colonial rule had been to weaken traditional forms of government in order to build direct ties between the British authorities and the population. After 1902, however, the addition of Ashanti and the Northern Territories made this task too heavy. In order to lighten the administrative load, the chiefs and elders were again given wide latitude in running their own affairs. A fundamental difference in the status of the traditional authorities was thus created. In the precolonial system the chiefs and elders had been ultimately responsible to their people. Under indirect rule they were responsible to the colonial authorities who supported them. In many respects, therefore, the power of the chiefs was greater than it had been before.

Many of the chiefs involved came to regard themselves as a ruling aristocracy, and their counsels were generally heeded by the government, which often rewarded them with honors, decorations, and knighthood. Indirect rule tended to preserve traditional forms and sources of power, however, and, by its inherent conservatism, failed to provide opportunities for the growing number of educated young men anxious to find a niche in their country's development. Various interests saw other sources of dissatisfaction: there was not sufficient cooperation between the councils and the central government; the local authorities were felt to be too much under the domination of the British commissioners; and the self-perpetuating authority in the hands of a few particular families was viewed as failing to represent properly the true interests of the people.

In 1925 provincial councils of chiefs were established, partly to give the chiefs a "national" function. This move was followed by the Native Administration Ordinance in 1927, replacing a document of 1883. The aim of the new ordinance was to define more clearly and regulate the powers and areas of jurisdiction of the chiefs and councils. Councils were given specific responsibilities over disputed elections and the unseating of chiefs; the procedure for the election of chiefs was set forth; and judicial powers were defined and delegated. Councils were entrusted with the role of defining customary law in their areas (the government had to pass on their decisions), and the provincial councils were empowered to become tribunals to decide matters of customary law when the dispute lay between chiefs of different hierarchies. Until 1939, when the Native Treasuries Ordinance was passed, however, there was no provision for local budgets.

In 1935 the Native Authorities Ordinance joined the central colonial government and the local authorities in a single governing concept. New Native Authorities, appointed by the governor, were given wide powers of local government but were placed under the supervision of the central government's provincial commissioners, who assured that their policies would be those of the central government.

The joint provincial councils and moves to strengthen them were not popular. By British standards, the chiefs were not given enough power to be effective instruments of indirect rule, whereas articulate Africans saw in the reforms a British move to increase the power of the chiefs in order to utilize them in a decreasingly democratic system of government.

Economic and Social Development

The years of British administration of the Gold Coast during the twentieth century was an era of significant progress in social, economic, and educational development. Communications were greatly improved; new crops were introduced and developed; minerals and timber were increasingly exploited; and more schools were being built. The advantages of modern science and technology were pushed into ever-widening spheres of the country's hinterland.

The railroad, begun in 1898, was extended until it covered most of the important commercial centers of the south. After the introduction of motor vehicles at the beginning of the twentieth century, road construction moved forward; by 1918, 1,200 miles of road had been built, and by 1937 there were 6,000 miles of road (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Telgraph, telephone, and postal services were increased and improved, and cable and radio services and air and steamship lines were developed to link the country with the outside world.

Cocoa, introduced in 1879, brought about the first major change among the peoples of the interior as its cultivation quickly expanded into the mainstay of the nation's economy. By the 1920s the country was exporting more than half of the world's entire cocoa supply. Gold exports continued, and timber and manganese further increased external earnings, stimulating and financing the internal developments in infrastructure and social services. Only cocoa production was in African hands, however; exports and imports were largely in British hands, as was the limited manufacturing carried out within the country. A good deal of local trade was conducted by Lebanese and Indian immigrants. The Cocoa Marketing Board was formed in 1947 to assist the farmers and stabilize the production and sale of their crops.

One of the most progressive governors of the era was Sir

Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, who held office from 1919 to 1927. His far-reaching plans for the colony were greatly assisted by the prosperous state of the country's economy during his period of office. During his administration there was notable progress along all fronts. Besides his work on all phases of communication, he initiated the artificial harbor works at Takoradi, improved the health services, built the Ghana Hospital of Korle Bu, and did much to promote improvements in mining and agriculture. He founded Achimota College, which developed into one of the finest secondary schools in Africa and produced graduates that became outstanding political figures of modern Ghana.

The most significant aspect of Guggisberg's administration was his recognition of the requirements and desires of the native population. Under his guidance, the concept of a progressive social and economic unit was first injected into official government policy.

The economic depression of the 1930s and the restrictions during World War II combined to slow down somewhat the bright promise of progress that Guggisberg had brought to Gold Coast affairs. Nevertheless, the colony moved ahead, and the political atmosphere particularly underwent subtle changes.

It was through education that an African elite gained the power and the desire to strive for independence, and during the colonial years the country's educational institutions made notable progress. From beginnings in missionary schools, the early part of the twentieth century saw significant advances in many fields and, although the missions continued to participate, the government steadily increased its interest and support. In 1909 it established at Accra a technical school and a teachers' training college; several other schools were set up by the missions in various parts of the country. As the years passed, the number of schools in various categories continued to grow; the government steadily increased its backing and provided more and more of the necessary funds. Several committees were appointed to investigate and make recommendations in the field of education and in some cases made substantial contributions to spur further progress. Among the more noteworthy were the Education Committee of 1937 and the Elliot Commission of 1944. The Elliot Commission made recommendations that resulted in the founding of University College in 1948.

The colony assisted Great Britain in both World War I and World War II. From 1914 to 1918 the Gold Coast Regiment served with distinction in the campaigns against the German forces in the Cameroons and then in East Africa, where it served the longest period of any West African contingent. In World War II Gold Coast troops emerged with even greater prestige after outstanding service in Ethiopia and Burma. In the ensuing years, however, postwar problems of inflation and instability made readjustment extremely difficult for the returning veterans, who were in the forefront of developing popular discontent and unrest. Their war service and associations had broadened their horizons and made it difficult to return to humble and circumscribed positions.

Influence of Christian Missions

The impact of outside religious influences on Ghana, although substantial, has not been as pronounced as in other parts of the world. The area has been subjected to the proselytizing influence of missionaries of many faiths since its earliest history. Although these new teachings often clashed with established local religious forms and beliefs, their proponents were generally well received and achieved considerable success in acquiring new adherents. Native religious heritage was strong, however, and the missions did not always succeed in entirely eradicating rites and observances of the past. The newly accepted religion often retained many of the forms and rituals of the old one it had nominally replaced.

In the pre-European period, Islam had gained a foothold in the north. The major impact of Islam was realized by the fifteenth century, however, and it was the introduction of Christianity that exerted a predominantly lasting influence on the development of the modern state.

Although the main aim of the Christian missionaries was the conversion of the inhabitants, their efforts in health improvement and education were significant. Concern for the welfare of the African in the early years of European penetration stemmed largely from the work of the missionaries.

The earliest missionaries were Catholic priests who accompanied the Portuguese expedition that settled at Elmina in 1482. The Dutch who drove the Portuguese from the coast in 1642 were accompanied by Protestant ministers, products of the Reformation, who served as chaplains for their own people but made no effort to convert the Africans. In the middle of the eighteenth century missionary activity again got underway, but the several isolated efforts were mostly on a small scale.

The nineteenth century saw the beginning of significant missionary activity. Four major bodies—three Protestant and one Catholic—established themselves in the area, and their members pursued their works despite hardships, ill health, and alarmingly high mortality rates. The Basel Mission of Switzerland in 1827 was the first, followed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1835 and the North German Missionary Society, or Bremen Mission, in 1847. The Roman Catholic Society of African Missions established itself in 1880.

These missions were followed over the years by many others from both Europe and North America. Most of them started in the coastal areas and spread steadily throughout the south, but penetration of the north was impeded by difficulties of transportation, problems of supply, and the established position of Islam. Most of the missions set up schools; many established hospitals and clinics, supplied doctors, and trained nurses and midwives.

The missions took the lead in the study of local languages and, after establishing a writing system, were able to instruct their pupils in their own dialects on such subjects as child welfare, sanitation, first aid, and local history, in addition to religion. The missions also expanded academic curricula by teaching trades and crafts and establishing centers for demonstrations of scientific farming. Some of the early roads were built by the missionaries, and agriculture was given new stimulation by their introduction of new products, such as mangoes, avocados, and coffee.

In the earlier years the Christian converts generally stood apart from the traditional life of the community. Differences among the missions of various denominations often led to confusion and ill feeling. Regional divisions were created or accentuated, and the contrast of outlook between the traditional Muslim-influenced north and the Western-oriented south became more acute. Nevertheless, the location of missions often had considerable influence on the growth of communities, the "mission quarter" became a familiar feature of most larger settlements, and the church school became a focus of social life that rivaled the dwelling of the chief.

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

Keeping pace with the material development of the country was the political evolution that, through a series of constitutional reforms beginning in 1925, gradually shifted the focus of government power. From the hands of the governor and his officials, control moved slowly in the direction of greater participation by Africans. The changes resulted from an awakening national consciousness that led to a strong spirit of nationalism and was to result eventually in independence.

The development of national consciousness accelerated quickly after World War II, when a substantial group of Africans emerged to lend mass support to the aspirations of a small educated minority. Once the movement had gotten underway, events moved rapidly—not always fast enough to satisfy the nationalist leaders but still at a pace that surprised not only the colonial government but also many of the more conservative African elements as well.

As early as the latter part of the nineteenth century a growing number of educated Africans found increasingly unacceptable an arbitrary system that reposed complete power in the hands in the governor through his appointment of council members. Thus the foundations were laid for a movement that was ultimately to lead to independence. In 1920 one of the African members of the Legislative Council, Joseph E. Casely-Hayford, convened the National Congress of British West Africa, which sent a delegation to London to urge on the Colonial Office the principle of elected representation. The group acted for all the British West African colonies and was the first expression of political solidarity between progressive intellectuals and nationalists of the area. Asserting that the congress represented only a small minority of urbanized Africans, the secretary of state for colonies refused audience to it. Nevertheless, the congress aroused considerable support among the African elite at home, and its action brought the matter to the fore.

The major early figures involved were British-educated intellectuals who generally were at odds with the traditionalist chiefs. Despite their emphasis on elected representation, they insisted on their loyalty to the British crown and sought an extension of British political and social forms in Africa. Notable leaders included Africanus Horton, Jr., J. M. Sarbah, and S. R. B. Attah-Ahoma. Such men gave the nationalist movement a distinctly elitist flavor that was to last until the late 1940s.

The Constitution of 1925, promulgated by Guggisberg, was the first major change since the Constitution of 1850. Provincial councils of paramount chiefs were established for each of the western, central, and eastern provinces of the colony. These councils in turn elected six chiefs as unofficial members of the Legislative Council, which then consisted of fourteen unofficial members and fifteen official members appointed by the governor.

Although the new constitution recognized sentiments that had been set in motion and were reflected by the National Congress of British West Africa, Guggisberg was concerned primarily with British interests. In an effort to counteract the effects of the congress by providing Africans a limited voice in the central government, he attempted to ensure at the same time that such representation was under official discipline. By limiting nominations to chiefs, he helped drive a wedge between chiefs and educated intellectuals that arrested effective agitation for self-government for twenty years.

The new constitution met with considerable disapproval in most quarters of the country. Opposition was particularly strong from the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, which had been formed in 1897 by the Westernized elite in the coastal towns to protect African land rights against European exploitation and had continued as a voice for the interests of educated Africans. The group felt that the chiefs, in return for British support, had allowed the provincial councils to come completely under the control of the government. They denied that the councils were in a position to defend African interests adequately. The resultant recriminations created considerable disagreement and distrust of both government and chiefs, which took some years to diminish. By the mid 1930s, however, a gradual rapprochement between chiefs and intellectuals had begun.

Agitation continued for more adequate representation, and the chiefs and educated leaders laid constant demands before the government for a greater share of control. African-owned and -managed newspapers played a major part in stirring this agitation. Six were being published in the 1930s, one under the editorship of Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian writer, educated in the United States, who later became president of Nigeria (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences). One result was the addition, in 1943, of two unofficial African members to the Executive Council. Changes in the Legislative Council, however, had to await the Constitution of 1946.

The 1946 Constitution, promulgated by the governor, Sir Alan Burns, represented a bold step forward in that it abandoned for the first time the concept of an official majority and handed political power over to the elected members. The new Legislative Council consisted of six ex officio members, six nominated members, and eighteen elected members, among whom the Ashanti were represented for the first time.

With the elected members in a decisive majority, a level of political maturity was attained that was not then equaled anywhere in colonial Africa. The constitution did not, however, grant full self-government; executive power was still in the hands of the governor or his appointed officials, and the Legislative Council was responsible to the governor.

Although the Constitution was greeted with enthusiasm as a significant milestone, it soon encountered a troubled path.

World War II had just ended, and the many Ghanaian veterans who had served in the British forces returned to a country beset with shortages, inflation, black-market practices, and unemployment. They formed a nucleus of discontent that was ripe for disruptive action. They were joined by farmers who resented drastic governmental measures required to cut out diseased cocoa trees in order to control an epidemic of swollen shoot disease and by many others who were perturbed that the end of the war had not been followed by economic improvement.

A national political group called the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was formed in August 1947 under an intellectual, nationalist-oriented leadership. In December of that year Nkrumah was appointed the UGCC's general secretary. Although political associations had existed previously in the colony, the UGCC was the first true political party, and theirs was the first serious demand for self-government.

The veterans and others instituted a boycott of imported goods and other protests against economic conditions. Finally, in February 1948, widespread rioting broke out in major towns. The trouble began in the capital with a march by ex-servicemen attempting to present a petition to the governor at his residence. Although permission to march on the castle had been officially denied, the group, joined by a large number of nonveterans, left the prescribed route and headed for the governor's residence. A short distance from the castle the column was halted by armed police, who opened fire. Two were killed and 5 were wounded, the dead including the foremost leader of the group, Sergeant C. F. Adjetey. During the next few days serious rioting broke out in several areas as well as the capital. Accra's central prison was stormed, and the inmates were released. European and Asian stores were looted and destroyed. Before the situation was brought under control, 29 people had been killed and 266 injured. The end result was widespread politicization of the population and increased hostility to the colonial government.

The UGCC criticized the government for its failure to solve the problems that had brought about the disturbances. It was able to make political capital of the brief imprisonment of its leaders and, as a result, the UGCC expanded rapidly—from 2 branches in 1947 to 209 by August 1948.

As a result of the unrest, a British commission under the chairmanship of Aiken Watson was sent from London to investigate conditions. One of its recommendations was that the Africans be given a greater share in the government. The governor appointed an all-African committee under Justice Henly

Coussey to study ways and means of carrying out the commission's specific recommendations. The Coussey group consisted of thirty-six members drawn from the territory's traditional and modernist leaders. Before the Coussey Committee's task was completed, Nkrumah left the UGCC, where he had found himself in opposition to the more conservative views of its leaders.

In the years before 1948, a broad gap had opened between the African intellectual elite and the workingmen and farmers. The UGCC was dominated by the elite. Its early leaders included George Pa Brown, a leading Ghanaian businessman; J. B. Danquah, the country's foremost political theorist; K. A. Busia and Edward Akufo-Addo, future national leaders; and Ako Adjei, a fellow student of Nkrumah in the United States. It was Adjei who had led the UGCC to bring Nkrumah back from London to be the party's secretary general.

None of the UGCC's leaders were capable of presenting an appeal to the majority of the population. Although they sometimes made common cause with the chiefs against the British, they were also divided from the traditionalist authorities by cultural background and political aims. The product of coastal families with 200 or more years of contact with the Europeans, many of them saw themselves as black English gentlemen and as the colonial rulers' logical successors. They sought to achieve self-government under the British crown through logical persuasion rather than positive action and agitation. Their political speeches stressed the moral right of the people of the Gold Coast to self-determination.

Nkrumah was of a different mold. His qualities of leadership attracted a large following and brought him rapidly to the fore. In 1935 he had gone abroad to study at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania and in London. His studies and his practical experience in Philadelphia and London, organizing African students and observing political party and labor union organizing efforts among both democratic and Communist bodies had made him an astute political organizer.

To outsiders his abilities as an orator seemed limited, but his style and the promises he made appealed directly to the majority of those who heard him. He was able to measure the pulse of his audience and to react to it energetically. He appeared as the national leader on whom the people could focus their hopes and desires. His appeal to the youth of the country was particularly strong, and the lowering of the voting age in 1950 was of substantial help to him and his party. Nkrumah also won the support of the influential market women who, through their domination of petty trade, were able to serve as effective channels of communications at the local level.

The majority of the politicized population, stirred in the postwar years by the outspoken newspapers, was separated from the Anglophile elite nearly as much as from the British by economic, social, and educational factors. This politicized group consisted primarily of literate persons who had left primary school, ex-servicemen, journalists, and elementary school teachers who had developed a taste for populist conceptions of democracy with which they had come in contact. A growing number of uneducated but urbanized industrial workers also formed part of this group.

Nkrumah, after leaving the UGCC, was able to appeal to these people at their own level. In June 1949 he formed his own party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), with the avowed purpose of seeking immediate self-government. The majority of the UGCC members joined him.

A new constitution, the Constitution of 1951, followed the Coussey Committee's report. In addition to the Executive Council, with a large majority of African ministers, the constitution provided for an assembly, half of whose elected members were to come from the towns and rural districts and half from the traditional councils, including Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

Although it was a major step forward, it still fell far short of the CPP's goal of full self-government. It further widened the breach between Nkrumah and leaders of the UGCC, who had collaborated on the formulation of the constitution in the Coussey Committee.

With the increasing backing of the people, in early 1950 the CPP initiated a campaign of "positive action," which resulted in widespread strikes, nonviolent resistance, and some violent disorder. Nkrumah, along with his principal lieutenants, was promptly arrested and imprisoned for sedition, but this action increased his prestige and added the status of martyr to his position as leader and hero of the cause.

In February 1951 the first general elections were held for the Legislative Assembly under the new constitution. Nkrumah, still in jail, received a substantial plurality of the votes cast in his electoral district, and the CPP won a major victory, with a two-thirds majority of the 104 seats. Because of the indirect voting system then in use, however, the tribal interests were able to fill 23 seats.

The governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, released Nkrumah and invited him to form a government as leader of government business, a position similar to that of prime minister. Nkrumah accepted and took office as the head of a government dominated by his own party. A major milestone had been passed on the road to self-government and independence.

Although the CPP agreed to work with the new constitution, it was plainly far short of the ultimate aims of the party. The ministries of defense, external affairs, finance, and justice were still held by European officials who were not responsible to the legislature. Furthermore, by providing for a sizable representation of traditional tribal chiefs, the constitution served to accentuate the cleavage between the modern political leaders and the traditional authorities of the councils of chiefs.

A majority of the country's population was still under the partial control of the chiefs and the tribal councils that had been recognized as a part of the administrative structure of government under the British. This indirect rule had brought about complex and profound changes in the country's thought and orientation, without abrupt breaks in the social structure. The blending of traditional authority and social organization with Western structures permitted the emergence of groupings that went beyond traditional boundaries toward the creation of larger political units and, eventually, a national concept. In the process, it educated one stratum of the society in administration.

The start of Nkrumah's first term as leader of government business was marked by cordiality and cooperation between him and the British governor. In the course of the next few years there was a gradual transformation of the 1951 Constitution into a system of full parliamentary government. The change was opposed almost entirely by the more traditionalist African elements, particularly in Ashanti and the Northern Territories. This opposition, however, proved ineffective in the face of the continuing and growing popular support for independence at an early date.

In 1952 the position of prime minister was created, and the Executive Council became the cabinet. The prime minister was made responsible to the assembly, which duly elected Nkrumah prime minister.

A new constitution, written in 1954 at Nkrumah's insistence, brought about the end of election of assembly members by the tribal councils. The assembly, which had been provided with a Speaker in 1951, was increased in size, and all members were chosen by direct election from equal, single-member constituencies. Although matters of defense and foreign policy remained in the hands of the governor, the elected assembly now had control of virtually all the internal affairs of the colony.

The CPP faced serious opposition in Ashanti to its policies of centralization. Shortly after the 1954 election, a new party, the National Liberation Movement (NLM), was formed in Ashanti. The NLM advocated a federal form of government, with increased powers for the various regions. Its leaders criticized the CPP for dictatorial tendencies, and the NLM gained many adherents from among disaffected CPP members, as well as chiefs and supporters of the traditional order in Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

The new party worked in cooperation with another regionalist group, the Northern People's Party, and the growth of the movement began to alarm the CPP. When the opposition walked out of the discussions on the new draft constitution, the march toward independence appeared to be definitely threatened. The CPP feared and the NLM hoped that the government in London might consider such a demonstration of disunity as an indication that the colony was not yet ready for the next phase along the path of self-government.

The British government's constitutional adviser, however, backed the CPP position. The opposition declared that public opinion had swung away from Nkrumah's government, which no longer represented the people. The governor dissolved the assembly in order to test the popular support for the demand for immediate independence. The crown agreed to grant independence if requested by a two-thirds majority of the new legislature. New elections were held in July 1956, with the CPP the victor. Although it obtained only 57 percent of the votes cast and Nkrumah was supported by only a third of the voters in his own district, the fragmentation of the opposition allowed the CPP to win every seat in the south as well as a minority of seats in Ashanti and the Northern Territories and 8 of the 13 seats in the Trans-Volta Region—a total of 70 seats out of 104.

Shortly before the parliamentary election in July, an important plebiscite in Togoland was held in May 1956. British Togoland, the western portion of the former German colony, although a League of Nations mandate and later a United Nations trusteeship, had been administratively and economically linked to the Gold Coast and was represented in its parliament. The British government wanted to settle its status before the Gold Coast became independent and prepared to hold a plebiscite under United Nation auspices to let the Togolese decide whether they wished to remain under trusteeship or join an independent Gold Coast. The important ethnic group in the area was the Ewe, who were divided between the Gold Coast proper and the two Togos. Many Ewe in the southern part of Togoland opposed union with Ghana and preferred to wait for eventual union with the Ewe of French Togo, while the CPP, supported by most of the Ewe of the Gold Coast, compaigned vigorously for union. The vote showed a clear majority in favor of union with the Gold Coast, and the area was absorbed into the country's Volta Region.

INDEPENDENT GHANA

On August 3, 1956, the new assembly passed a motion authorizing the government to request independence within the British Commonwealth. The opposition did not attend the debate, and the vote was unanimous. The British government accepted this motion as clearly representing a reasonable majority; a bill to give the Gold Coast its independence was introduced into the British Parliament and approved, and the date of independence was fixed.

On March 6, 1957, the 113th anniversary of the Bond of 1844, the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana. Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, who had been governor since 1949, became the first governor general. The Legislative Assembly became the National Assembly. Ghana was admitted as a member of the United Nations two days after it attained independence.

The Strengthening of the Government's Hand

The constitution in force at independence provided protection against easy amendment of a number of its clauses. It also granted a voice to the regionalism and traditionalism of the chiefs and their tribal councils by providing for the creation of regional assemblies. No bill amending the entrenched clauses of the constitution or affecting the powers of the regional bodies or the privileges of the chiefs could become law except by a two-thirds vote of the National Assembly and majority approval in two-thirds of the regional assemblies. The local CPP supporters gained control of all regional assemblies, however, in part because the opposition parties chose to boycott the elections to these bodies. The Nkrumah government, which already had a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, promptly secured passage of the Constitution (Repeal of Restrictions) Act of 1958. The act removed the special entrenchment protection clause in the constitution and left the National Assembly with the power to effect any constitutional change it wished at the will of its CPP majority.

One of the early acts of the now unfettered National Assembly was the outright abolition of the regional assemblies. Another was the dilution of the clauses in the constitution designed to ensure a nonpolitical and competitive civil service.

This alteration allowed Nkrumah to freely appoint his followers to positions throughout the upper ranks of the government service.

The major law strengthening the government's power was the Preventive Detention Act, which allowed Nkrumah to imprison an opponent at will, initially for up to five years (later extended to ten), without either publishing the prisoner's name or the charges against him and without allowing the seized person any recourse to the courts. By 1964 the number of political prisoners held under the act was estimated at between 400 and 2,000 persons.

The Preventive Detention Act was preceded and supplemented by the Deportation Act of 1957, which allowed the government to deport any noncitizens resident in Ghana who opposed the regime and also allowed it to void the citizenship of any person who could not prove he was born in Ghana of Ghanaian parentage. Deportation could be carried out solely on the grounds that the subject was "disaffected toward the Government of Ghana." The act was used almost immediately to deport two leaders of the opposition Moslem Association Party.

Intraparty Dynamics

Even as it achieved its first victory at the polls in 1954, the CPP had begun to experience dissension within its ranks. Lower level leaders and whole local elements, disappointed either by the party stands on political or economic questions, particularly regarding the question of federal versus centralized control, or by personal failures to obtain high-ranking posts, left to join or to form opposition parties. For example, eighteen of the twenty-one members of the executive body of the NLM, the CPP's major opponent, were former CPP members. One of the NLM's major elements was the Asante Youth Association, which had originally been formed by the CPP to lead its membership drive among the urban Ashanti.

In addition, the rigidity of executive domination within the CPP had already become apparent enough by 1956 to antagonize many supporters. It was the prime cause of the formation of the Ga Standfast Association (Ga Shifmo Kpee) among the highly urbanized Ga tribal group centered in Accra. These people had initially been the strongest supporters of the CPP and Nkrumah. They broke with the party over the issue of intraparty democracy and cronyism, as did some labor and veterans' groups. This was the cause of the CPP's poor turnout in the Accra Capital District and the Eastern Region in the 1956 election. No opposition candidates attractive to these urban defectors presented themselves in time to contest the campaign, however.

As a mass party with over 20 percent of the country's population enrolled as members, the CPP found that all the major divisions within the country were being reflected in the party. In order to counterbalance them, control over the party was made more rigid. Regional organizations initially strong enough to present alternative power centers to the national leadership, were subordinated through the concentration of power in the hands of regional secretaries appointed and paid by the Central Committee. The creation of local units of the party's youth and women's and labor organizations divided the popular support that had formerly been given to the local party branches.

As early as 1955 Nkrumah had gained the power necessary to dominate the party executive. He had been acclaimed chairman of the party for life and, as life chairman, had also gained the right to choose a majority of the members of the Central Committee. By 1956 he also had ultimate control over the selection of candidates for elective offices.

After an administrative reorganization of the CPP in 1959, which created a national secretariat with departments directly paralleling those of the government administration, Nkrumah also took the position of general secretary of the CPP. The leaders of the party-dominated labor and farmer organizations were given representation in the national executive at the time, thus giving Nkrumah direct access to their decisionmaking as well. Under the 1958 amendment to the constitution, all power was legally vested in a parliament controlled by the tightly disciplined CPP delegation. By 1958 leadership of the party was organizationally in the hands of the Central Committee, selected and dominated by Nkrumah. Thus, by 1959 a governing structure had been created with Nkrumah at the pinnacle and all reins of power in his hands.

Party Fronts

From its beginnings, a major portion of the CPP's support had been developed by secondary organizations—the youth groups, women's societies, cooperative associations, farmers' unions, labor unions, and the Ex-servicemen's League. Only the labor unions and the Ex-servicemen's League were capable of presenting any challenge to the party.

The CPP replaced the league with a government-controlled body, the Ghana Legion. All women's and youth organizations, even the Young Women's Christian Association and the Boy Scouts, were abolished and replaced by party auxiliaries. The

National Association of Socialist Students Organization was created to instruct older students in the ideas of Nkrumah, although this body was later abolished because its leadership became a center of left-wing opposition to Nkrumah policies. Its place was officially taken by the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba, a center to which all senior government officials and all university students, as well as others, were to be sent for ideological indoctrination.

Nkrumah sought to have every citizen join some organization—if not the CPP itself, then one of its cooperative societies, labor unions, youth groups, or other fronts so that they would have a sense of personal involvement in the state and party. These secondary organizations, however, had very limited success in creating the popular support expected by the party. The Young Pioneers met opposition from both teachers and students within the schools; the women were more influenced by economic consideration than by party propaganda efforts; the university students retained their own organizations until 1964 and remained a permanent center of liberal opposition to Nkrumah. The Winneba institute was an intellectual and propaganda failure, even in the opinion of its own faculty.

The Parliamentary Opposition

By the time of independence the opposition political parties, linked by their fear of the growing power of the CPP, had formed a unified body, the United Party (UP), with K. A. Busia as its leader. The dwindling opposition in the parliament joined the UP, which made its first national electoral effort in the plebiscite of 1960. The plebiscite was held to demonstrate public support for Nkrumah's decision to make Ghana a republic, with himself as president. The UP effort, plagued both by government interference in its campaign and by the attractiveness of the republic concept as presented by Nkrumah, failed to attract any notable support for the party or its presidential candidate, J. B. Danquah.

The UP opposed the new constitution on the grounds that it was nontraditional and undemocratic. They felt it would end the responsibility of parliament to the people, betray Ghana's hard-won sovereignty through the clause providing for the surrender of sovereignty to a larger African alliance, and give the president far too much power, including control over the civil service, judiciary, police, and armed forces.

The UP said it stood for a liberal socialist economy and against the CPP economic ideology, which seemed to them to smack of communism. Their immediate targets were the restoration to parliament of power and status and a constitutional reform commission that would write a constitution guaranteeing civil liberties and ensuring that the civil service, police, and armed forces were agents of the state rather than of a single political party. They advocated the union of Africa on a "realistic basis," but without the surrender of sovereignty. They called for an end to corruption, deportations, and punishment without trial (a reference to the Preventive Detention Act).

Although the CPP used its control of the government to limit the UP campaign, it won the election on its own strength. Well organized, popular as the achiever of independence, and in control of all public media except the *Ashanti Pioneer,* the CPP won the plebiscite by a seven-to-one margin.

Under the 1957 Constitution parliamentary elections were to be held at least every five years. Nkrumah and the CPP decided, however, that the overwhelming popular support for the government position in the 1960 constitutional plebiscite and for the presidency of Nkrumah obviated the need to reelect the parliament. The incumbent National Assembly was, therefore, continued in office as if it had been reelected in 1960, and its life was extended until 1965.

Local and Municipal Elections

In local and municipal elections, there were seldom more candidates than positions to be filled, so that the results were declared without the voters going to the polls. Before the outlawing of opposition parties, considerable elation attached to winning an election through lack of opposition, and CPP publications gleefully pointed out such events as further proof of the overwhelming popularity of the party. The UP seldom, if ever, put up a candidate, so it was only an occasional independent who challenged the CPP slate for the local and municipal councils, and he was almost invariably defeated.

Until mid-1961 it seemed that Nkrumah was moving without serious opposition toward his goals of national unity and the development of a modern society and economy. Particularism and federalism no longer appeared to present a serious threat to Nkrumah's policies. Many observers felt that the power of the traditional chiefs had been successfully curtailed and that a new national social structure appeared to be on the way to superseding local, tribally based structures (see ch. 5, Social System).

With the presentation in July 1961 of the first austerity budget, however, the workers and farmers became aware and critical of the cost to them of the ambitious government programs. CPP backbenchers and UP representatives in the National Assembly sharply criticized the government's demand for increased taxes and, particularly, a forced savings program. In early September the railroad workers and dockworkers in Sekondi-Takoradi and other cities began a strike in protest against the budget. The government and Trade Union Congress leaders were forced to declare a state of limited emergency and to send in police to put down the strike.

Nkrumah was on a trip to Eastern Europe when the strike reached its climax. He reversed measures taken in his absence by the Presidential Commission and subsequently deprived two of the three members of their cabinet posts.

The strike was the most serious of a number of public outcries against government measures during the spring and summer of 1961. Nkrumah's "Dawn Speech" of April 8, in which he demanded an end to corruption in the government and CPP, had undermined popular faith and resulted in public attacks against CPP ministers. The further drop in the price paid to cocoa farmers during the 1961 harvest season by the government Cocoa Marketing Board had aroused resentment among a segment of the population that had always been among Nkrumah's major opponents.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND NKRUMAH

After independence, Nkrumah devoted a major portion of his energies to the liberation of the other territories of Africa from colonial rule. Above all a pan-Africanist, he hoped to see continental independence followed by the creation of a unified continent-wide United States of Africa, preferably under his leadership.

He opposed the continued existence of numerous individual small states as a balkanization foisted on the African peoples by the intrigues of their former colonial masters and the United States in order to continue economic control and political domination in a new form, which he labeled neocolonialism. He believed the old form of direct colonial rule had proved too expensive, since it had saddled the colonial powers with responsibility for social development. His ideas were presented in his books, particularly in *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* and *Toward Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle Against World Imperialism.*

Nkrumah had opened the first conference of independent African states in Accra in 1958. Only five black African states were independent at that time, but the representatives of a large number of colonial territories, many of which were well on their way to independence, attended as well. As a first step toward initiating a broad continental union, Ghana entered a formal union with the former French colony of Guinea in 1958. Mali was added to this "Union Government" in 1961, although the formal creation had no practical or structural effect on any of the three countries involved.

The unification that Nkrumah sought was frustrated by the lack of interest shown by the leaders of most of the other states as they achieved independence. Few were willing to sacrifice their newly won independence to a subordination in a federal body, although all espoused African unity and some looser form of tie. Ghana participated fully in the centralized groupings that did come into existence. Nkrumah was deeply involved in the grouping of radically oriented states labeled "the Casablanca group" after its first meetingplace. The country became a leading member of the Organization of African Unity at its founding in 1963. Nkrumah continued to strive for the creation of a unified state rather than a loose association, however. These efforts and those of his Bureau of African Affairs included support for moves to oust from power the governments of other independent states that Nkrumah looked upon as under neo-colonialist influence, notably those of neighboring French-speaking states.

The bureau conducted training in guerrilla warfare for refugees from countries still under colonial rule, particularly those in the white redoubt of southern Africa. This effort was supported by nearly all the other independent states, but the bureau and Nkrumah were believed to be training guerrillas and assassins and supporting insurgency aimed at the governments of other independent states. Nkrumah was widely blamed for the overthrow and assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo in 1963, for example, even though no evidence of such a connection ever came to light. These efforts and rumors of efforts, along with the brashness of his attempts to dominate inter-African affairs, alienated even those leaders of other countries who generally supported a similar attitude toward African unity and who looked up to Nkrumah as the senior figure in the continent's efforts to rid itself of colonial rule.

NKRUMAH AS SUPREME RULER

By 1961 the continuing accusations of corruption among the central party leaders and Nkrumah's demands for, and expressions of, sycophancy led to a growing loss of local support for the CPP. Nkrumah took advantage of the rumors of corruption to remove the leaders of the CPP's right wing, most notably K. A. Gbedemah, who had begun to question the motives behind legislation further limiting personal freedom within the country. Nkrumah accused twelve ministerial-level officials of having excessive personal property or having business interests that conflicted with their government duties. Six were dismissed, including Gbedemah.

After the dismissal of Gbedemah, one of the CPP's founders, Nkrumah began to give stronger encouragement to his own "personality cult." Nkrumah was always the most popular and certainly the best known figure in the country. His popular appeal was the major source of his strength and enabled him to succeed in his continuing efforts to concentrate power in his own hands. Another major factor was his superior organizational ability, honed by the advice of his foreign supporters, particularly Geoffrey Bing, a former Labour Party member of the British Parliament and his legal adviser.

Nkrumah attempted to bind the country to the CPP by making himself the popular symbol of the CPP and government. Virtually everything that could be was named in his honor. He portrayed himself as the fountainhead of all that was good for the country. Adulations began to acquire religious overtones.

Nkrumah became more sensitive to the danger of opposition to his personal rule, particularly as a result of a number of assassination attempts aimed at him. For this and other reasons he came to depend more heavily on members of his own small tribal group, the Nzema; his advisers were often foreigners resident in Accra, most of whom were strongly pan-Africanist, or Marxist, or both. These included a number of West Indians, most notably George Padmore until his death in 1959, and American Negroes, including W. E. B. DuBois, several doctrinaire British Socialists, and refugees from other African countries, particularly from South Africa. They also included a variety of other nationals, even a German Nazi figure. Most Ghanaians believed that his security advisers were all Russians.

Nkrumah's Political Philosophy

Nkrumahism, the CPP's official philosophy, was the name given to the major pronouncement of the CPP and its leader on public morality and socioeconomic objectives. Basically pragmatic rather than an established doctrine, its official definition was constantly being altered as Nkrumah's plans for the country evolved. Attempts to define it were generally failures, particularly Nkrumah's own book on the subject, *Consciencism.*

According to one definition in 1960 by the CPP's Bureau of Information, Nkrumahism was based on scientific socialism, which was taken as providing the means for correcting the inequitable distribution of food and other basic material necessities of life that are the legitimate right of all people. It was opposed to capitalism, demanding its vigorous and systematic elimination from society. It was also based upon purely African factors, particularly pan-African unity and a truly African sociocultural renaissance produced by a synthesis of the best of traditional Africa with the best drawn from other parts of the world. Further, it was "the philosophy embodied in the life and teaching of Kwame Nkrumah," thereby linking the ideology to the leader.

Following a series of articles in the party's *Accra Evening News* in 1961 intended to illustrate the ideology to the common reader, it became usual to portray Nkrumah in clearly theological terms. Nkrumah was proclaimed Ghana's messiah. Along with Moses and Christ, Marx, Lenin, Gandhi, and Nkrumah were declared divine saviors of the people.

Ties to the Communist World

After his first visit to the Communist world, a trip to the Soviet Union, its European satellites, and Yugoslavia in 1961, Nkrumah began a widely publicized reorientation of his country's overseas ties and interests away from the West. In this move he was evidently influenced by a number of factors: the CPP's espousal of socialism, no matter how unorthodox in Marxist-Leninist eyes; Nkrumah's own early impressions of the organizational dynamism of the Communist Party as he had observed it in his student days in the United States and Great Britain in the 1930s and 1940s; and the influence of his foreign advisers, who ranged in political viewpoint from Fabian Socialists to avowed Communists.

He was also incensed against the West after the fall of the Patrice Lumumba government in the Congo (Kinshasa). He had looked upon Lumumba, who had received Communist backing, as his most important protégé and blamed Western neocolonial interests, particularly the United States, for his downfall. Another major factor in his reorientation was the fact that Communist states indicated a willingness to give arms and financial aid to revolutionaries favored by Nkrumah in other parts of Africa.

The establishment of strong diplomatic ties with the Communist states was followed by a considerable reorientation of trade, as well as increased foreign aid, including technical assistance, scholarships at East European schools, military equipment for a major portion of the army, and security personnel for Nkrumah's bodyguard. In addition, at the paragovernmental level, the women's, youth, and farmers' organizations became affiliated with, and received scholarships and financial support from, the Communist-front international organizations in their fields. The All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) was formed by Nkrumah with the announced purpose of creating a truly African nonaligned labor body free of interference or domination by either the Western-oriented International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), with which most African trade unions were affiliated at the time, or the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). The AATUF, which Nkrumah made into a major tool for his attempts to influence internal and foreign policy in other African states, actually received its major support from the WFTU. In return for this support, it repeatedly accused the ICFTU of being a tool of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This effort had remarkable success in the rest of Africa. The AATUF had its headquarters in Accra, and seven of its eight secretariat members were supported by the WFTU. Nkrumah was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in July 1962.

THE GROWTH OF OPPOSITION TO PERSONAL RULE

Nkrumah's complete domination of political power had the effect of isolating lesser leaders, leaving each a real or imagined challenger to the ruler. After crushing the opposition parties, opponents could come only from within the CPP hierarchy. Among its members was Tawia Adamafio, an able, hardworking leftist. Nkrumah had made him general secretary of the CPP before deciding, on foreign advice, to reserve the post for himself. Adamafio then became minister of state for presidential affairs, the most important post in the president's own staff at Flagstaff House, which gradually became the center for all decisionmaking and much of the real administrative machinery for both the CPP and the government. The other leader with an apparently autonomous base was John Tettagah, leader of the Trade Union Congress. Neither, however, proved to have any power beyond that granted to them by Nkrumah.

Nevertheless, as Nkrumah continued to seek out possible political challengers among his supporters, his eyes fell on Adamafio. The younger, more radical members of the CPP leadership, led by Adamafio, had gained ascendancy over the original CPP leaders like Gbedemah in 1961. After a bomb attack on Nkrumah's life in August 1962, Adamafio, Ako Adjei (then minister of foreign affairs), and a number of other CPP leaders were jailed under the Preventive Detention Act. The CPP newspapers charged them with complicity in the assassination attempt, offering as evidence only the fact that they had all chosen to ride in cars far back from the president's car at the time the bomb was thrown. Tettagah was also removed from leadership of the Trade Union Congress and the internal political scene by being made head of the AATUF.

After the loss of power of this younger group of radicals, the ideology and propaganda of the government and CPP veered again, this time toward closer ties to African traditions, with Nkrumah stressing his role as the heir to the traditional chiefs. Stronger emphasis began to be placed on the African, rather than the "scientific," nature of their socialism. In addition to having an appeal to the disaffected traditionalist, this change coincided with Nkrumah's strong involvement in pan-African and inter-African affairs.

Wholesale changes in staff and fluctuations in policy were possible because of Nkrumah's almost total control. As one academic observer, David Apter, has noted, the really comparable body to Ghana's ruling center would have been the court of king before the introduction of constitutionalism. Nkrumah was king in all but title, and the various factions and philosophies vied for his favor. That favor could sometimes be obtained by presenting a program to benefit his subjects, but at other times Nkrumah's favor went to those showing the most fawning support or putting the biggest bribe in the right hands. The ruler retained power despite the disaffection of the elite and commoners because the opposition within and outside of the ruling clique was divided. Moreover, the majority were reluctant to overthrow him because he was heir to the ruling traditions: symbolically he had replaced the chiefs and he had provided leadership in ending colonial rule.

Major political interest in 1963 focused on the trial of the alleged plotters of the 1962 assassination attempt—Adamafio, Adjei, Cofie-Crabbe, and two others. They were brought to trial before a special court for state security cases, created in 1961. The three-judge court consisted of the chief justice, Sir Arku Korash, and two justices of the High Court of Justice, Van Lare and Edward Akufo-Addo. Two of the accused were convicted, but the three former leaders of the CPP were acquitted. Nkrumah publicly showed his strong displeasure. He used his constitutional prerogative to dismiss the chief justice. He then obtained a vote from the parliament granting him the power to set aside any decision of the special court. He applied his new power retroactively to the newly acquitted Adamafio and his associates, who were retried in late 1964, after having been held under the Preventive Detention Act in the interim. The new court, with a jury handpicked by Nkrumah from the faculty of the Winneba institute, found all five guilty and sentenced them to death, although Nkrumah later commuted the sentences to twenty years in prison.

In early 1964, in order to prevent future challenges from the judiciary, Nkrumah obtained the power to dismiss any judge, not just the chief justice, as he might see fit. This change required a constitutional amendment. At the same time a referendum was held to make Ghana officially a single-party state, with the CPP as the only legal political organ. By what impartial observers described as blatant intimidation and ballot-box rigging, the government obtained more than 99.9 percent of the votes cast in favor of the one-party system and absolute presidential control over the judiciary.

In May 1965 the parliament passed three laws altering the rules governing the naming of candidates for election. The first two laws ensured that there would only be one candidate for president, nominated by the CPP and approved by the National Assembly. The third law appeared to provide for non-CPP candidates to stand for local and national seats. Other parties had already been outlawed, however, and other candidates would have had to run as independents. None came forward to challenge the party slate in the general elections announced for June 1965.

The 1965 elections were the first called for by the National Assembly since 1956. The number of seats in the assembly, increased to 114 with the addition of 10 women members in 1960, was raised to 198 in 1965. In June, because the CPP slate was unchallenged, the slate of candidates officially picked by the CPP Central Committee but actually chosen by Nkrumah was declared to be automatically elected without the need for any actual polling of voters.

THE DOWNFALL OF NKRUMAH

No single act or set of actions brought about the general alienation that preceded the downfall of Nkrumah and the CPP. Rather, they lost their popular support as a reaction to the continual erosion of civil liberties, the undermining of the judiciary and the traditional rulers, the lack of opportunity for expressing political and economic grievances, and the government's apparent preoccupation with external affairs to the country's detriment.

A significant consideration was the economic deterioration that affected more and more people. A major portion of the decline was the result of factors beyond the government's control, particularly the fall in world cocoa prices and the need for investments for the country's long-range improvement, including industrial development and the expansion of educational facilities (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Nevertheless, Nkrumah's insistence on prestige projects at any cost, the periodic banning of imports (including many items needed by the general public), the increased taxation, and the blatant corruption and mismanagement led to the government's being blamed entirely for the rising prices, declining incomes, and widespread unemployment.

The civil service, police, and armed forces became even more alienated than the general public. They were offended by Nkrumah's "personality cult" and by the supplanting of the professional elite in the ministries by new and untried men under the president's direct control in Flagstaff House. They were disturbed by the fact that social and economic development decisions were often dictated by ideological rather than technological considerations. For the British-trained army and police, the major factors were their subordination to nonprofessional men and their relegation to a place in security affairs second to the Soviet-influenced National Security Service, the Special Intelligence Unit, and the presidential bodyguard. The army particularly resented the better treatment accorded the President's Own Guard Regiment.

In late February 1966 the government introduced the budget for the new fiscal year. Contrary to hopes, it contained no steps to alleviate popular economic grievances. Nkrumah, perhaps planning his timing to avoid protests over the budget, had embarked on a trip to Hanoi via Peking, which he touted as an effort to end the war in Vietnam. On February 24, while he was arriving in Peking, the army and police force, led by the army's Second Brigade under Colonel E. K. Kotoka and Major A. A. Afrifa, staged a coup. Despite a few hours of opposition by the guards at the president's residence, the coup was an immediate success.

The coup leaders announced an end to Nkrumah's rule, dissolved the CPP and the National Assembly, and suspended the constitution. They also released all the prisoners held in preventive detention. The eight-member National Liberation Council, composed of four army and four police officers, assumed executive power. They appointed a cabinet of civil servants and promised to restore democratic government as quickly as possible. Nkrumah's overthrow was greeted with great popular joy throughout the country. His older political opponents, exiled or imprisoned during the previous nine years, quickly returned to the country's political arena. Nkrumah sought exile in Guinea, where President Sekou Toure proclaimed him as Guinea's new copresident.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

Roughly 100 groups distinguishable by linguistic or other cultural differences and often self-defined as separate entities were listed in the 1960 census. It is likely that the 1970 census, the detailed results of which were not available in early 1971, will have similar findings. Of these ethnic groups, many were quite small, numbering under 10,000 and, in some cases, between 2,000 and 3,000 (see table 2). Some were non-Ghanaian in that their roots were in other West African states; none constituted more than 15 percent of the population.

All of these groups speak languages of the great Niger-Congo language family and share the cultural characteristics of West African agricultural societies. Broad categorization emphasizing linguistic and, to a lesser extent, institutional similarities tend to group the peoples of Ghana into northern and southern sets. Most of the ethnic groups south of 9 degrees north latitude speak languages of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family; most of the groups north of that line speak languages of the Gur branch (see fig. 8).

Any group may be distinguished from others in the same linguistically defined category or subcategory even when they are characterized by essentially the same social institutions. If nothing else, each has a historic tradition of group identity and, usually, of political autonomy. In some cases, however, what is considered a single unit for census and other purposes may have been divided into identifiable separate groups before and during much of the colonial period and, in some contexts, continued to be so divided after independence. For example, the 1960 census does not distinguish one Ewe component from another, and a considerable degree of Ewe self-consciousness of the group as a whole did develop in the late colonial and independence periods. There is, nevertheless, a good deal of variation in Ewe language and culture, and their traditional political organization, still recognized for some purposes, is characterized by relatively small autonomous groups.

Generally, the peoples speaking Kwa languages (70 percent of the population) have been influenced by Western education and Christianity, and the Gur speakers (about 20 percent of the

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of the Ghanaian Population, 1960

Ethnic units[1]	Number		Percent of total population[2]		
KWA	4,706,360		70.0		
Akan	2,964,580		44.1		
Anyi-Bawle				1.5	
Aowin		16,470			.2
Bawle		1,030			.0
Kyokosi (Chokosi)		14,090			.2
Sahwi (Sefwi)		71,240			1.1
Nzema				2.7	
Ahanta		65,230			1.0
Evalue		1,090			.0
Nzema		111,800			1.7
Twi-Fante (Fante)				11.2	
Agona		49,080			.7
Fante		708,470			10.5
Twi-Fante (Twi)				28.7	
Ahafo		17,910			.3
Asante (Ashanti)		895,360			13.3
Asen		43,590			.6
Akuapem		144,790			2.1
Akwamu		14,070			.2
Akyem Abuaswa		114,220			1.7
Akyem Basome		12,140			.2
Akyem Kotoku		45,550			.7
Akyem (others)		31,910			.5
Banda *Boron (Brong)*		320,240			4.8
Dankyira		33,460			.5
Kwawu (Kwahu)		131,970			2.0
Wasa		94,260			1.4
Other		26,610			.4

Ewe	872,860		13.0		
Ga-Adangbe	560,370		8.3		
Adangbe				3.5	
Ada		53,530			.8
Krobo		162,940			2.4
Shai		20,970			.3
Ga				3.5	
Ga		236,210			3.5
Other		86,720			1.3
Guan	251,810		3.7		
Anum-Boso		18,340			.3
Atwode		3,170			.0
Awutu		21,160			.3
Efutu		33,870			.5
Gongya (Gonja)		62,700			.9
Krakye (Krachi)		14,140			.3
Kyerpon (Cherepong)		33,780			.5
Larte		22,330			.3
Nkonya		11,050			.2
Ntwumuru (Nchumuro)		13,500			.2
Other		17,770			.3
Central Togo	56,740		.8		
Adele		2,900			.0
Akpafu		5,370			.1
Akposo		1,780			.0
Avatime		6,920			.1
Bowli		3,280			.0
Buem		14,900			.2
Likpe		7,140			.1
Logba		2,090			.0
Lolobi		2,860			.0
Ntruber		2,980			.0

Table 2. *Ethnic Composition of the Ghanaian Population, 1960*—Continued

Ethnic units[1]	Number		Percent of total population[2]		
Nyangbo		1,940			.0
Santrokofi		3,230			.0
Tafi		1,350			.0
GUR	1,352,490		20.1		
Mole-Dagbane		966,230		14.4	
Builsa (Kangyaga)		62,620			.9
Dagaba (Dagarte)		201,680			3.0
Dagomba		217,640			3.2
Frafra		138,370			2.1
Kusasi		121,610			1.8
Mamprusi		58,710			.9
Nankansi Gurense		55,130			.8
Namnan		16,500			.3
Nanumba		13,700			.2
Talensi		32,780			.5
Walba (Wala)		47,200			.7
Other		290			.0
Gurma		237,780		3.5	
Bimoba		32,270			.5
Konkomba		110,150			1.6
Kyamba (Tchamba)		48,720			.7
Pilapila		24,790			.4
Other		21,850			.3
Grusi		148,480		2.2	
Kasena		37,030			.6
Mo		8,830			.1
Sisala		59,210			.9
Vigala		2,230			.0
Other		41,180			.6

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MANDE					
Southern		56,690		.8	
Busanga		56,690			.8
GROUPS OF NON-GHANAIAN ORIGIN	595,310		8.9		
Fon		3,370			.0
Fulani		25,050			.4
Hausa		61,730			.9
Ibo (Nigeria)		14,050			.2
Kru		6,500			.1
Lobi (Birifor, Miwo, Yangala)[3]		37,550			.6
Mande (Wangara, Bambara, Dyula, Mandingo)		34,180			.5
Mole-Dagbane				1.6	
Mossi		106,140			1.6
Songhai		35,930		.5	
Songhai		5,100			.1
Zabrama (Djerma)		30,830			.4
Tem (Kokotil)		51,020		.8	
Yoruba		109,090		1.6	
Atakpame		8,530			.1
Yoruba		100,560			1.5
Other		110,700		1.6	
POPULATION NOT CLASSIFIED BY ETHNIC UNIT[4]	15,700		.2		

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[1] All units under Kwa, Gur, and Mande are largely indigenous. Included in these categories, however, are some identified as of non-Ghanaian origin. Kwa total (153,390): Akan—7,640; Ewe—142,900; Ga-Adangbe—550; Guan—450; and Central Togo—1,850. Gur total (111,890): Mole-Dagbane—15,550; Gurma—81,720 (includes a majority of Pilapila and Kyamba); and Grusi—14,620. Mande total (24,530): Busanga—24,530. By contrast, some of those included under groups of non-Ghanaian origin are considered indigenous: Fulani—4,210; Hausa—5,550; Yoruba and Ibo—1,640; Lobi—10,590; Mande—4,630; Mossi—10,790; Songhai—1,330; Tem—8,920; others—29,380.

[2] Percentages of smaller units do not always add to percentages of inclusive units because of rounding.

[3] The Birifor and Yangala, but not the Miwo, are Mole-Dagbane speakers.

[4] Includes North Africans—about 500; Middle Easterners (chiefly Lebanese)—2,500; other Asians (chiefly Indians)—1,000; Europeans (chiefly British)—10,500; North American (chiefly United States)—1,200.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Census Office, *1960 Population Census of Ghana,* Special Report "E," Tribes of Ghana, Accra, 1964.

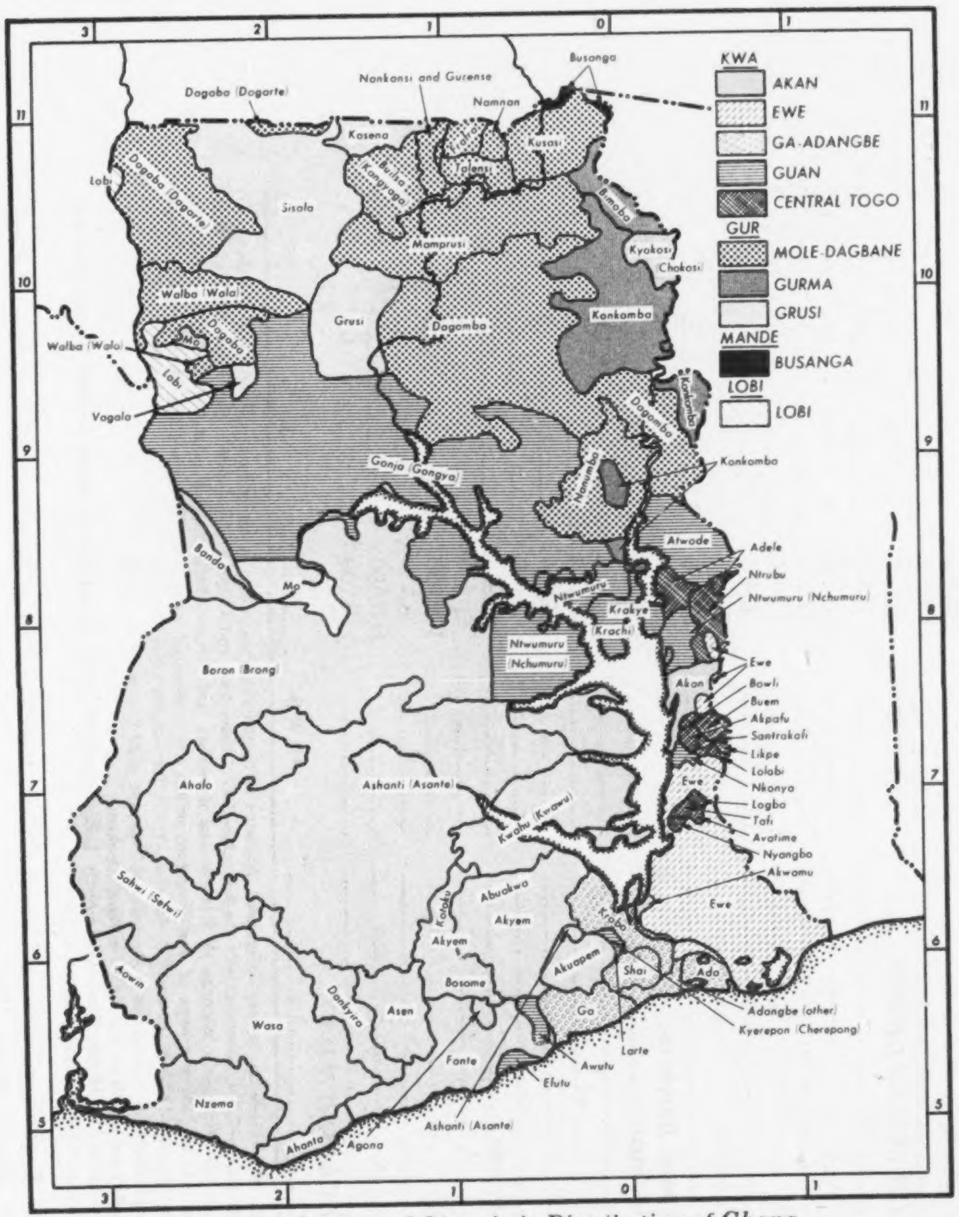
KWA
AKAN
EWE
GA-ADANGBE
GUAN
CENTRAL TOGO
GUR
MOLE-DAGBANE
GURMA
GRUSI
MANDE
BUSANGA
LOBI
LOBI
Busonga
Nonkonsi and Gurense
Dogobo (Dogorte)
Namnan
Kasena
Frafra
Talensi
Kusasi
Lobi
Dagaba (Dagarte)
Sisala
Builsa
Kangyaga
Bimoba
Mamprusi
Kyokosi
(Chokosi)
Walba (Wala)
Grusi
Dagomba
Konkomba
Mo
Dagaba
Walba (Wala)
Lobi
Vagala
Konkomba
Dagomba
Gonja (Gongya)
Nanumba
Konkomba
Atwode
Adele
Ntrubu
Ntwumuru (Nchumuru)
Banda
Mo
Ntwumuru
Krakye
(Krachi)
Ntwumuru
(Nchumuru)
Boron (Brong)
Akan
Ewe
Bowli
Buem
Akpafu
Santrokofi
Likpe
Lolobi
Nkonya
Ewe
Logba
Tafi
Avatime
Nyangbo
Akwamu
Ahafo
Ashanti (Asante)
Kwahu (Kwawu)
Sahwi (Sefwi)
Abuakwa
Kotoku
Akyem
Akyem
Ewe
Krobo
Aowin
Akuapem
Shai
Ado
Bosome
Wasa
Denkyira
Asen
Go
Adangbe (other)
Kyerepon (Cherepong)
Larte
Fonte
Awutu
Efutu
Nzema
Ashanti (Asante)
Ahanta
Agona
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5

Figure 8. Ethnic and Linguistic Distribution of Ghana

total), by Islam. These influences are not pervasive in the respective regions, however, nor are they wholly restricted to them. The peoples of the south generally have been more involved in modern economic activities not only because of a longer history of contact with Europeans but also because most of the country's exploitable minerals are there, as are most of its cash crops.

No part of Ghana is ethnically unmixed. Migrants can be found everywhere, and in some cases representatives of various ethnic groups have been long established in areas dominated by other people. Less than 60 percent of the population enumerated in the 1960 census had been born in the locality in which they lived at the time of the census; about 18 percent of the men and 24 percent of the women had been born in another locality in the same region. Although regional boundaries are related to major ethnic (or linguistic group) boundaries, there are often differences within them. Another 14 percent of the men and 11 percent of the women were born in other regions, almost always implying ethnic difference from the people of the locality in which they resided. More than 10 percent of the men and more than 6 percent of the women had been born abroad.

In many cases, residence in an ethnically alien area was largely temporary. Migrants came to work for wages, expecting to return when they had achieved their goals. In other cases, however, migration was permanent in the sense that the migrants had established households and had lived in a given locality for many years.

One portion—roughly one-eighth of the total population—of these migrant peoples, those born outside Ghana or of parents who were not of Ghanaian origin, were required by the government in late 1969 either to register as resident aliens or to leave the country, and by late 1970 a substantial number had left. The requirement apparently arose out of the country's economic difficulties and substantial unemployment.

The extent to which ethnic identity determines social and political relations in modern Ghana is difficult to define. The government's general policies are aimed at encouraging loyalty to the country and its government; the maintenance of local tradition, however, is not discouraged, nor is the use of local languages, although English is the official national language and participants at the higher levels of the national government must understand it. The government of Kwame Nkrumah did not attempt outright abolition of traditional offices, but it sought to minimize their importance and to fill them with persons acceptable to it. Although the Constitution of 1969 does not give the chiefs great power, their status is recognized; the National Liberation Council, which ruled between the coup of 1966 and the installation of the new civilian government in 1969, emphasized the installation of chiefs according to more traditional criteria (see ch. 3, Historical Setting; ch. 5, Social System; ch. 8, The Governmental System).

The continued existence of traditional figures of authority and of local languages and rituals (even where Christianity or Islam has become important) and the continued importance of local customary law make for the persistence of ethnic identification. Legal provisions, however, prevent the direct conversion of such ethnic identity into party politics. Ethnicity is one basis for political affiliation, but it did not seem to be pervasive in 1970 (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The 1960 census recognized five clusters of Kwa peoples: Akan, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Guan, and Central Togo. These categories are based in part upon linguistic criteria and in part upon other cultural characteristics. The ancestors of these peoples probably moved into the area of least 2,000 years ago. When Europeans arrived at the end of the fifteenth century, the Akan peoples had developed small states and were engaged in trade with representatives or offshoots of the larger states of the western Sudan (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Life among the largely agricultural Kwa was organized around kin groups, and the people were settled in compact villages or towns. Agricultural production and trade supported the development of various full- and part-time specialists, although some of the traders and specialists were not members of Kwa groups but peoples from the north who had settled more or less permanently among them.

The Akan Peoples

The Akan occupy much of the region south of the Black Volta as that river flows eastward to empty into what is now Lake Volta. They are concentrated in compact villages in the cocoa-growing belt and in communities along the coast. Most of the important cash crops, chiefly cocoa and palm oil, and the mines and industry are in Akan territory (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population; ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

By the end of the fifteenth century, when Europeans first heard of them, the Akan had occupied the central forest zone, but it is likely that they had moved into what is now Ghana some hundreds of years earlier. Until the seventeenth century the typical Akan political entity was a small state, which comprised several clans. In the seventeenth century, however, several powerful tribal states developed, largely through conquest and at least partial assimilation of weaker groups. One of these—Ashanti—continued its expansion through the eighteenth century and survived as a powerful political entity until the late nineteenth century (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Akan groups along the coast were the first to have relations with Europeans. Through long association, aspects of British culture and language have been absorbed by these groups and those farther inland. British names have become family names among some Akan.

There are only minor language differences among Akan groups. The large number of them that speak dialects of Twi-Fante are using essentially the same language, although specific dialects have acquired somewhat different written forms.

The relative homogeneity of Akan languages and cultures has not implied political unity. The most important conflicts of any Akan group in precolonial and colonial times have been with other Akan groups. The development of the Ashanti Empire was largely at the expense of the independence of the Akan around them, and the latter were quick to reassert their autonomy when Ashanti power was defeated. In the struggle for independence and in the period since independence, political alignments have followed local interests rather than any conception of Akan ethnic unity.

The fundamental social organization and ways of life of all Akan groups are essentially similar: the principle of matrilineal descent provides the basis for group formation, inheritance, succession to office, and the composition of local communities. Variants on the basic patterns have occurred, and some have been subject to change under modern conditions, but their outlines persist.

A limited number of matrilineal clans—most clan names are shared by all Akan—are scattered through each Akan political entity; even the largest—the Ashanti—has only eight. Each clan (*abusua*) consists of men and women who are believed to be descended through women from a common ancestress. Because the members of each clan have been widely dispersed, these units have no significant political or economic functions, but they regulate marriage in the sense that members of the same clan may not marry. Traditionally, a traveling member of a given clan would look first to a member of his group for hospitality in a strange place. In modern times the significance of the clan has become even more attenuated, although membership in it still affects marriage.

A politically and economically more important unit is the matrilineal lineage (also *abusua*), a segment of a clan. Formerly such units were localized; each lineage lived in a village or dominated a section of a town. A lineage controlled the land farmed by its members, functioned as a religious unit and, under a lineage head, settled internal disputes among its members. Although localization has become less frequent except in the oldest communities and the lineage does not have quite the same solidarity and authority over the lives of its members, it is still of some importance (see ch. 5, Social System).

All Akan were organized as states; the political entity comprehended several kin-based units, one of which usually supplied the paramount chief, who exercised at least a degree of authority over incorporated groups. Each of these incorporated groups—lineages or territorial units—had its own chief and considerable autonomy. In any case, all chiefs were subject to destooling (see Glossary) if they acted in such a way as to alienate substantial numbers of their people, particularly the influential ones (see ch. 5, Social System).

Only one of the Akan states—Ashanti—achieved substantial size and came to control groups, Akan and non-Akan, other than the core units of which it had initially been composed (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Although all Akan states had certain specialized administrative functionaries, only Ashanti began to develop a central bureaucracy, and even among them the hierarchy of officials at the court of the *asantehene* (king) was concerned chiefly with the administration of the non-Ashanti parts of the empire.

Before the eighteenth century the relationship of the *asantehene* with the chiefs (*amanhene;* sing., *omanhene*) of the states that made up the Ashanti Confederation had been that of first among equals. They owed allegiance to him, but for many purposes each *omanhene* exercised the same range of powers and enjoyed the same prerogatives in his own chiefdom that the *asantehene* did in Kumasi, the capital of the confederacy. Their autonomy persisted to some extent into the nineteenth century, but the *asantehene* had gradually acquired much more wealth than they had, and control over non-Ashanti matters rested in his hands.

Beginning after the middle of the eighteenth century and extending into the nineteenth, several Ashanti *asantehene* gradually diminished the power of the hereditary (in the matrilineal line) officials and replaced them with persons of their own choice, often their own descendants but sometimes commoners. In this process a number of new offices (stools—see Glossary) were created. The result was the emergence of a bureaucratic class, the members of which were largely recruited by patrilineal descent. This departure from the matrilineal principle was important but limited; property continued to descend in the matrilineal line (that is, from a man to his sister's sons) until the growing importance of cocoa farming in the mid-1930s exerted pressure for patrilineal inheritance (see ch. 5, Social System).

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century the *asantehene* was prepared to attempt the subjugation of the still largely autonomous chiefdoms of the original confederacy, but that process was interrupted by the increasing involvement of the British in Gold Coast affairs. The chiefs of several of these autonomous groups sought British protection, and over a period of more than half a century the efforts of Ashanti *asantehene* to establish a wholly centralized system achieved limited and, in the end, ephemeral success. When the British finally took over in the early twentieth century, Ashanti returned to its earlier status as a confederation of semiautonomous chiefdoms, and much of the bureaucracy and military organization was dissolved.

The history of Ashanti is that of a gradually developing centralized kingdom in which internal conflict was quite common. Nevertheless, most Ashanti developed a sense of political and military achivement that survived the colonial period. At the same time, however, the Ashanti became involved in new economic activities, including cocoa farming, and they have taken advantage of modern education, although they had not gone as far as some of the coastal peoples by the end of the colonial period.

The Fante, almost as numerous as the Ashanti, have never achieved the degree of unification and hierarchical organization developed by the latter. Each chiefdom retained its autonomous status, and no single chief acquired paramountcy. Moreover, men's companies (*asafo*), composed of commoners and having a military origin, also played an important role in political matters, and some of the leading priests also acquired a substantial degree of authority in relation to the chiefs of the independent Fante states (see ch. 5, Social System).

From the time that Europeans arrived at the Gold Coast, the Fante were in regular contact with them, engaged in both the slave and gold trade. As the Ashanti sought to assert their dominance over both kinds of trade, they imposed their control on the Fante, who sought the support of the Europeans, particularly the British, who had an important center at Cape Coast in Fante territory. Fante interaction with the British and their location near a number of the coastal cities led to their early involvement in the production of cash crops and their substantial contribution to the work force in various modern enterprises. It also led to the early emergence of a number of educated Fante who were the moving force behind the formation of the short-lived Fante Confederation in the late 1860s. Educated Fante also provided many of the leaders of early movements for self-government.

The Ashanti and Fante together constitute more than half of the Akan. Only one other group, the Boron (Brong), formerly under Ashanti domination, makes up nearly 5 percent of the population. The Boron formed some of the earlier Akan states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but they came under Ashanti hegemony in the mid-eighteenth century and have been on the periphery of modern developments in the twentieth century.

The Ewe

The Ewe occupy the southern half of the Volta Region, comprising the southeasternmost section of the Gold Coast and former British Togoland (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). A lesser but still substantial number live in adjacent sections of the Republic of Togo, although some Ewe have migrated to Ghana in the decades since World War II. A substantial number of Ewe are scattered along the coast, particularly in the towns, and in the interior.

Unlike the Akan, the Ewe are essentially a patrilineal people. The core of an extended family (see Glossary) consists of a group of men of two or more generations who are members of the same patrilineage. Extended families whose male members are of the same lineage often form the basic population of a village or of a portion of a town.

Although Ewe has been considered a single language, there is considerable dialectic variation, and some dialects are mutually intelligible only with difficulty. Variation also occurs in other aspects of culture, such as music and dance, and there are differences in traditional social organization. Thus, although the Ewe are generally patrilineal, only some groups have well-established localized patrilineages and the more extensive units called patrilineal clans.

Substantial differences in local economy are characteristic. Most Ewe are farmers and keep some livestock (including poultry), and there is some craft specialization, but the mixture varies. On the coast and immediately inland, fishing is quite important, and local variations in the economy permit a great deal of trade between one community and another, carried on chiefly by women.

The largest independent political unit was a chiefdom (sometimes called a tribe), whose head was essentially a ceremonial figure. Decisions affecting the entire group were made by him only in consultation with a council of elders. Chiefdoms ranged in population from a few hundred in one or two villages to several thousand in a larger unit including the capital and the surrounding countryside. In 1906, 110 of these independent units were enumerated in what was then German Togoland.

In the past there had been little sense of ethnic identity, but in the colonial period and in the context of the independence movement of the 1940s and 1950s the Ewe of British Togoland showed a good deal of interest in uniting with those of French Togo (now the Republic of Togo). In the end, however, they were joined with newly independent Ghana (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Efforts among the Ewe to alter this situation have shown little strength, but they have consistently formed an opposition political bloc (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

The Ga-Adangbe

Although the languages spoken by the Ga and the Adangbe are related, they are mutually unintelligible. There are also a number of other differences between the two peoples, attributable in part to the influence of the Akan on the Ga and of the Ewe on some, at least, of the Adangbe.

Most of the Ga are coastal people, often fishermen. To a very substantial degree they are urban, and more than 75 percent were counted as such in the 1960 census; of these, a good number lived in Accra. The fact of their long residence in urban areas on the coast is associated with the considerable participation in governmental and modern commercial and industrial activity and the fairly high proportion of their number who have some education. For many Ga, however, urban life is customary rather than a new experience, and many retain a relatively traditional way of life, even in central Accra, which has been a primary locus for them for a great many years (see ch. 5, Social System).

Each Ga town (or tribe) was essentially independent. Even the components of these groups retained substantial autonomy, except in time of war, when a military chief exercised a degree of authority. The ideas of a chief and military companies were borrowed from the Akan, against whom the Ga (and the Adangbe) fought.

The Guan

The Guan-speaking groups form scattered enclaves among the Akan, the Ga-Adangbe, and Ewe, except for one major group—the Gonja—and several smaller ones distributed more or less contiguously around the upper reaches of Lake Volta and to the north of the Black Volta. The distribution suggests that Guan speakers were originally located in the southeastern quadrant of Ghana and that the position of the Gonja is the result of a later migration.

Although the Gonja constitute roughly one-quarter of the

Guan and the other northern groups constitute another one-eighth, they are located in an area that can support only widely dispersed settlements. Most other Guan speakers tend to be densely concentrated in small areas.

Generally, Guan speakers have been heavily influenced by their neighbors. Thus the Efutu, surrounded by the Fante, have adopted, with modifications, the Fante version of some Akan institutions and use some Fante words in their rituals, although they continue to speak a Guan dialect. Similarly, the Anum-Boso, an enclave among the Ewe, are much like them culturally and speak a local Ewe dialect in addition to their own.

The Gonja are ruled by members of a dynasty, probably Mande in origin. The area is peopled by a variety of groups, some of which are not Guan speakers; the ruling dynasty, however, does speak Guan, as do substantial numbers of commoners. Although neither the rulers nor most of the commers are Muslim, a group of Muslims accompanied the conquering invaders and have since occupied a special position as scribes and traders.

In the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries the Gonja constituted one of several kingdoms in the northern half of Ghana engaged in trade of various kinds and stressing military activity. Early successes were followed in the nineteenth century by more frequent defeat—usually by the Ashanti, to whom Gonja became tributary, and finally by colonial rule. Although the principle of Gonja unity under their ruling dynasty has persisted, the centralization is weak, each member of the dynasty ruling over an essentially autonomous area. By the time of independence the Gonja were subsistence farmers and migrant workers.

The Central Togo

These small, related groups of the Central Togo are sometimes called the Togo remnant peoples, on the assumption that they represent what is left of a once more widespread people who were either absorbed by the Akan or Ewe or driven into the mountain region where most of them lived in 1970.

Rice cultivation is the more traditional farming activity, but substantial numbers of these people are engaged in cocoa farming. Descent and inheritance seem to be patrilineal. Each group is autonomous under a chief.

More Central Togo define themselves as Christian than do the members of any major Kwa or Gur group. Census data for 1960 also showed them to have a relatively high rate of literacy and school attendance and a high proportion of professionals and technical workers.

THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

With the exception of the Guan-speaking Gonja, the Kyokosi (an Akan-speaking fragment), and the Mande-speaking Busanga in northeasternmost Ghana, the ethnic groups north of the Black Volta speak languages of the Gur (or Voltaic) branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Three subgroups of Gur—Mole-Dagbane (sometimes called Mossi-Grunshi), Gurma, and Grusi—are represented in Ghana; Mole-Dagbane is the largest and culturally the most varied.

The area inhabited by the Gur speakers has been, for centuries, the scene of movements of people engaged in conquest and expansion or fleeing from them. In addition, north-south trade moved through it, and east-west trade moved through or just north of it. In these circumstances, a considerable degree of heterogeneity, particularly of political structure, developed.

The structure of many small groups, varied as they are, suggests that most Gur speakers once lived in small, largely autonomous communities and that the links between these communities were provided by kin groups, which, in their larger extensions, cut across community boundaries, and by intermarriage. The salient figure was not political but ritual—the priest (*tendaana*—a Mole-Dagbane term) of the earth cult and shrine. Although he was primarily a religious figure, his influence was felt in kin-group and community decisionmaking.

In some cases (for example, the Talensi) an independent community (or petty chiefdom) was aware that others like it shared the same culture and social structure, and there were occasional common rituals that brought independent communities together. In other cases (for example, the Dagaba) political and cultural boundaries were not sharp, and there was no sense of an ethnic group comprehending some communities and clearly excluding others, although shifting distinctions were made based on various cultural traits ranging from type of xylophone to reckoning mode of descent. In the case of the Dagaba the most important or recurrent of these distinctions seemed to have been, and in the mid-twentieth century continued to be, whether inheritance was exclusively in the patrilineal line or, in part at least, followed the matrilineal line.

In a few cases some Mole-Dagbane peoples developed societies of larger scale under a ruling dynasty. In Ghana these were the Mamprusi and Dagomba kingdoms, whose rulers were related to those of the Mossi kingdoms of the Upper Volta and the smaller Nanumba kingdoms of Ghana. Available historical research suggests that migrant groups imposed their rule on peoples already settled in the area. In some cases they extended their rule to other groups at least for a time. Thus, many of the Gurma-speaking Konkomba were subject to Dagomba control. The ruling groups maintain a clear sense of their own distinction and some cultural and linguistic features peculiar to them, but in general they speak the local language.

Although there are exceptions, most of the Gur-speaking peoples live in a part of the country that lacks the soil and climatic conditions for the cultivation of important cash crops. Moreover, exploitable minerals are concentrated chiefly in the south. In these circumstances most northerners are subsistence farmers, or they migrate to the south to look for work. Further, the impact of modern education on the north has been generally much less than in the south, and those who engage in migrant labor are usually unskilled.

MAJOR LANGUAGES

Roughly 100 languages and dialects are spoken. The principal indigenous languages are Twi, Ewe, and Ga in the south and Dagbane in the north. Because no single indigenous language is spoken or understood by the majority of the people and because of the history of British colonial rule, English has become the dominant means of communication. It is used for all government affairs, large-scale business transactions, and education, and most published materials and radio broadcasts for domestic use are in English. The Constitution of 1969 requires that members of Parliament speak, understand, and read English at a sufficient level to participate in its work.

Twi-Fante (the major Akan language), Ga, and Ewe are by far the most important Kwa languages, spoken by politically and commercially dominant peoples. The dialects of Twi-Fante are mutually intelligible and differ from each other less than do many dialects of English; yet the more important dialects have developed their own literary tradition, and each resists identification with the others. Except for local differences of pronunciation, idiom, and vocabulary, an Ashanti can readily communicate with any Twi-Fante speaker from the seacoast to the Black Volta and from near the Ivory Coast border to Lake Volta, even though the dialect spoken may be Fante at one point, Ashanti at another, and Akuapem at another.

The three subdivisions of the Gur branch in Ghana—Mole-Dagbane, Grusi, and Gurma—together dominate all except the Guan area of northern Ghana. None is spoken in the southern half of the country.

Of these groups, the Mole-Dagbane is by far the most significant, since it includes the Nankansi and Gurense, Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Talensi-Kusasi areas. Mutual intelligibility within any other subgroup of Gur languages is less, and the area of any common language—except Dagbane (the language of the Dagomba)—is limited. Dagbane serves commonly as a lingua franca throughout a large part of the north and was once the officially recognized language of the Northern Territories under British rule. Few northerners speak any Kwa languages in addition to their own. Contact between Gur and Kwa speakers is possible only through the use of English or knowledge of a common language.

A number of Ghanaian languages have writing systems, and several indigenous languages have developed a rich literature. The principal Ghanaian languages with scripts are: the Twi dialects of Ashanti, Akuapem, and Fante; Nzema; Ewe; Dagbane; Ga; and Kasena (a Grusi language). The principal written languages in terms of volume and sophistication of published literature are English, Ashanti, Fante, Ewe, Ga, and Dagbane.

Writing systems for Ghanaian languages were first introduced by missionaries, and the first publication in the new orthographies was, in almost every case, the Bible, followed by catechisms and similar works. The Bible has been translated into Ashanti, Fante, Ewe, Ga, and Nzema, and parts of the New Testament have been translated into Dagbane. In addition, Ashanti, Fante, Ewe, and Ga have developed a considerable secular literature (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences).

GROUPS OF NON-GHANAIAN ORIGIN

A little more than 12 percent (827,481) of the population in 1960 were listed as persons of foreign origin. By far the great majority were West Africans, generally from adjacent states (the Ivory Coast, the Upper Volta, and Togo) or from Nigeria. Although West Africans had been entering the territory for hundreds of years, most of those listed as of foreign origin in 1960 had come to Ghana beginning in the second quarter of the twentieth century or had been born to such persons. They came in response to a direct demand for labor on the cocoa farms and in the mines or because the Gold Coast's economy was, for a time, one of the most rapidly developing in West Africa and offered opportunities to people ranging from farm laborers and petty traders to skilled technicians and professionals. By the late 1960s, however, Ghana's economic situation was such that there were substantial numbers of unemployed, and the government considered it advisable to seek the departure of many non-Ghanaians.

Major Foreign Groups

The two largest groups represented in the non-Ghanaian population in 1960 were the Mossi from Upper Volta, a Mole-Dagbane people, and a group of Ewe from Togo. Large numbers of Mossi lived in the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo regions where they worked on farms, often as laborers and sometimes as farm managers. In either capacity they apparently supplied a significant proportion of the labor force in cocoa farming. Characteristically, they did not expect to be permanent residents in Ghana, and their population structure exhibited the typical pattern of migrant laborers—far more men than women and many more persons of working age than young or old persons.

By contrast, the structure of the non-Ghanaian Ewe is more nearly like that of the indigenous population, which suggests an immigrant group originally intent on permanent residence. Indications are that non-Ghanaian Ewe (and others from Togo) constitute a substantial proportion of skilled craftsmen in the Ashanti, Eastern, and Central regions.

Several important groups have their primary locus in Nigeria. The most important of these in 1960 were the Yoruba, the Hausa, and the Ibo. By far the largest group of Yoruba, men and women alike, were engaged in trade as proprietors of wholesale enterprises and as petty traders. Some Ibo, a much smaller group, were also engaged in trade, but roughly equal numbers were craftsmen or laborers, and a smaller proportion were domestic workers. Hausa occupations ranged more widely; many were also engaged in trade, usually further north than the Yoruba or Ibo. Although most Hausa enumerated in the 1960 census were considered of non-Ghanaian origin, some Hausa had been traders and had performed other functions in Ghana for centuries. A number of Hausa, however, also worked as farmers or farm managers; an even greater number worked as skilled or semiskilled workers, particularly in the preparation of foods; and at least half of those in food preparation were butchers and meatcutters.

The Wangara, speakers of the Bambara-Dyula-Mandingo cluster of closely related Mande languages, have their immediate origins chiefly in Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast, although their ultimate source lies in Mali. Mande speakers similar to them have been in the territory for hundreds of years, as traders and, in some areas, as conquerors who came to rule local peoples in northern Ghana. Those Wangara listed as non-Ghanaian in the 1960 census (the great majority), however, were largely involved in farm work, chiefly as farm laborers but also as managers of cocoa farms, and worked as unskilled laborers. Many of the women were engaged in petty trade. Their sex ratio is more nearly like that of permanent residents than temporary migrants.

Speakers of Songhai languages, chiefly Zabrama (Djerma), have their immediate origins in several West African countries, the most important of which are Nigeria and Upper Volta. Roughly one-fourth were in one phase or another of farm work, and another quarter were in petty trade. Substantial numbers were also engaged in diamond or other mine work and in unskilled labor. Their sex ratio was clearly indicative of migrant labor—five to six males for every female.

The great majority of the Tem (Kokotil) originate in Togo. Most of those in Ghana were engaged in agriculture, specifically in cocoa farming. Perhaps because of their proximity to their point of origin, the Tem have been able to keep their wives with them or to bring them into Ghana. Their population structure is much like that of permanent residents.

Most members of other groups of lesser importance are engaged in agricultural work, often as laborers, or as unskilled manual workers. The members of one group, the Fulani, specialize to some extent as herdsmen.

A number of these non-Ghanaian groups, including persons who are defined as indigenous, are largely Muslim. Included in this set are the Hausa, Songhai, Tem, and Fulani (all more than 90 percent Muslim by self-definition), the Yoruba (61 percent), and the Mande (56 percent). In urban areas members of these groups tend to live in special quarters for which the usual name is the *zongo* (the Hausa term for "strangers' quarters"). Such residential segregation sometimes characterizes non-Muslim migrants as well. In such quarters each group deals with its own affairs.

Citizenship, Residence, and the Economy

Policy and law with respect to citizenship have varied considerably in the years since independence. Until 1957 persons born in the Gold Coast were British subjects whether or not they were members of groups understood to be of Gold Coast origin. After independence persons born in the country did not have an automatic right to citizenship if their parents or grandparents were born elsewhere. During much of the Nkrumah regime, however, immigration was not discouraged. In 1967 the National Liberation Council (NLC), which had succeeded Nkrumah, issued a nationality decree granting citizenship to all persons born in Ghana. That decree was repealed by the same authority in 1969. To obtain citizenship in 1970 one must have been a member of an indigenous ethnic group or have had grandparents who were born in Ghana (the Gold Coast).

In July 1969 the National Liberation Council issued a directive to all embassies to have their nationals registered. According to public statements by government officials and others, the considerations behind the directive and subsequent action were the high rate of unemployment among both Ghanaians and those of non-Ghanaian origin and the high proportion of aliens among those convicted of criminal offenses.

On November 18, 1969, after Prime Minister K. A. Busia had taken office, a government order (the Residence Permits Compliance Order) stated that residents with expired or unrenewed residence permits would have to leave Ghana within fourteen days. The order also applied to those who were working although they had only visitor's permits.

On December 2, 1969, the minister of foreign affairs told diplomats in Accra that the order was intended to reduce the number of undesirable aliens and to ensure obedience to Ghana's laws. To be considered on their merits were the cases of those aliens who had been born in Ghana or who had lived there for a long time, had records of good behavior, and were employed. Later statements by cabinet ministers made it clear that the primary aim was to decrease unemployment among Ghanaians by removing noncitizens competing for jobs.

Several Ghanaian and other sources also pointed out that some elements of non-Ghanaian origin were essential to the operation of the economy and should be taken into account in the enforcement of the law. On the other hand, Ghanaian newspapers called for action against non-African aliens, particularly Asians, whose control of certain aspects of trade had proved an obstacle to Ghanaian participation.

On June 23, 1970, the National Assembly approved the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act, a bill that, among other provisions, excluded non-Ghanaians from certain categories of business. The law, which went into effect on August 1, 1970, provides that non-Ghanaians may not engage in a wholesale or retail business whose annual sales are less than N¢500,000 (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary). Moreover, non-Ghanaians are excluded from operating taxi, bus, and trucking services; serving as overseas business representatives; or engaging in baking, printing, petty trading, and hawking or selling in markets or from kiosks. The law includes provisions under which aliens may carry on business in the country and under which they may engage in partnerships with Ghanaians. It also requires that a non-Ghanaian who does own a business must provide training for Ghanaians to enable them to operate it.

The effect of this law, as well as the Residence Permits Compliance Order, was felt not only by a wide range of African aliens but also by Lebanese and Indians, who operated many of the retail and wholesale enterprises in Accra and other major towns on or near the coast. On July 31, 1970, it was announced that Ghanaians controlled most of the retail trade in Accra and that names of Ghanaians had replaced those of previous Middle Eastern owners. The provision banning non-Ghanaians from representing overseas business was likely to affect Europeans, but as of late 1970 there was no information on the extent to which it had been put into effect.

The total number of non-Ghanaian Africans affected by the government order is uncertain. At the time the order was promulgated, the *Ghanaian Times* wrote of an alien community of about 2 million people. According to the 1960 census, there were somewhat more than 800,000 in a population of over 6.6 million. The preliminary figures for the 1970 census show an overall increase of roughly 27 percent in ten years. It is unlikely that the alien population increased by that amount, if only because of the small number of women in many of its components. A number may have entered Ghana—reliable figures are not available—but it is unlikely that the total number of non-Ghanaians in the country at the end of 1969, when the order went into effect, much exceeded 1 million.

The number actually affected as of the end of 1970, a year after the compliance order went into effect and the expulsion of aliens began, is uncertain. In late February 1970 the ministerial secretary to the minister of interior stated that more than 100,000 aliens had left the country. Prime Minister Busia noted in early March that aliens were still leaving the country at the rate of several hundred each week. It is also likely that aliens who entered the country unofficially at its border left, uncounted, in the same way. From March 1970 to December 1970 no estimates, official or otherwise, were made of the number of non-Ghanaians who left the country.

There were, in 1960, roughly 16,000 non-Ghanaians other than black Africans in the country. About two-thirds of these were Europeans, chiefly British, working in various capacities—as businessmen, advisers to government and military leaders, and professionals and technicians. Included in this group were North Americans, largely from the United States. Some of these were Negroes interested in their African origins. The next largest group, less than one-quarter of the total, was composed of Lebanese and Indians, engaged mainly in wholesale and retail trade.

Between 1960 and 1966 half the Europeans and other non-Africans seem to have left the country. It is probable that many of the Lebanese and Indians left in 1970, affected as they were by a new law governing business ownership. By 1970, then, it is likely that resident non-Africans in Ghana numbered less than half that in 1960.

ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND RELIGION

A post-enumeration sample survey associated with the 1960 census indicated a relationship between ethnic affiliation and religion. The sole criterion for classifying an individual as an adherent of any religion was his own declaration, and no information was obtained as to the extent to which a self-defined adherent of a given religion accepts its tenets or engages in the practices it calls for. Adherence to a specific religion does not exclude belief in aspects of another religion or participation in some of its rituals. Many self-professed Christians participate in rituals connected with lineage ancestors and in ceremonies that assume a link between the traditional political system and religion (see ch. 5, Social System).

Despite the limitations of the data, they do indicate something of the penetration of Christianity and Islam and the differential extent to which each has affected various ethnic groups. The sample indicated that 42.8 percent of the population considered itself Christian; 38.2 percent, traditional; 12 percent, Muslim, and 7 percent claimed no religious affiliation. It is probable that most of those claiming no religion did so to indicate that they belonged to no organized group, and many should be classified as adherents of traditional religion.

The largest single Christian denomination was Roman Catholic—13.4 percent of the population—but the Protestant groups taken together—29.4 percent—outnumbered them. The two largest of these were the Methodists—10.3 percent—and the Presbyterians—9.9 percent. None of the other Protestant churches (which included independent African groups) exceeded 3 percent.

The major clusters of the south (Akan, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Guan, and Central Togo) show a higher than average proportion of persons claiming Christian affiliation and a low proportion claiming to be Muslims (see table 3). Although the major clusters of the north (Mole-Dagbane, Gurma, and Grusi) show a larger proportion of Muslims, none has as much as one-quarter; traditional religion is much more important. Only among some of the peoples of non-Ghanaian origin do a great majority claim to be adherents of Islam.

The differential regional distribution may be attributed in part to the direction from which the two world religions came to Ghana. Christianity accompanied the European colonial powers and moved inland from the coast. Islam came generally from the north, and some of the ruling groups that established themselves in the northern Gold Coast were accustomed to Islam even if they were not themselves Muslim and often brought with them groups of Muslims as scribes, medical specialists, and traders. Muslim traders and workers in other special occupations were in the south as well, particularly among the Ashanti, but the Ashanti rulers generally resisted Islam as a religion, in part because the Ashanti had developed aspects of their traditional religion as a means of legitimating their political system.

Table 3. Ethnic and Religious Affiliation of Adult Ghanaians, 1960
(in percent)

Ethnic group	Religion			
	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No religion
Kwa:				
Akan	62.7	4.3	25.4	7.6
Ewe	48.3	0.4	45.1	6.2
Ga-Adangbe	54.5	1.5	35.2	8.8
Guan	43.3	8.2	41.8	6.7
Central Togo	71.5	1.5	26.7	0.3
Gur:				
Mole-Dagbane[1]	7.4	21.9	63.9	6.8
Gurma	2.0	20.8	71.7	5.5
Grusi	6.1	14.2	70.8	8.9
Non-Ghanaian Origin:				
Fulani	0.5	91.7	7.3	0.5
Hausa	0.9	98.1	0.4	0.6
Ibo	87.9	6.5	4.5	1.1
Lobi	2.2	0.2	90.9	6.7
Mande	1.8	56.2	35.2	6.8
Songhai	0.2	93.8	3.8	2.2
Tem	—	96.6	3.3	0.1
Yoruba	33.6	61.0	3.9	1.5
Others	37.2	22.5	32.7	7.6
Not classed by tribe[2]	87.0	3.2	0.8	2.2

[1] Includes the Mossi, chiefly of non-Ghanaian origin.

[2] Does not add to 100 percent because Hindus, Buddhists, and Jews are not separately listed.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Census Office, *1960 Population Census of Ghana, Special Report "E," Tribes of Ghana*, Accra, 1964.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL SYSTEM

The major characteristic of the Ghanaian social system in early 1971 was its dual but interrelated structure. Numerous traditional societies, based on kinship, customary law, local chiefs, and small-scale farming, coexisted with a developing modern or national system of statutory law, parliamentary debates, civil servants, and young intellectuals. The vast majority of the population lives primarily in the traditional system. Only a small proportion of social activity occurs primarily within the modern social system, but it has a greater influence than the number of persons involved. Most Ghanaians, willingly or not, participate to some degree in both systems.

Traditional society is associated with rural and northern areas, and the modern or national system, with urban and southern areas. Such distinctions, however, are far from rigid. The difference is not one of geography but of value orientations and the emotional or qualitative overtones of relationships. Relationships in the traditional society are based on family membership, inherited status, and traditional beliefs. In the modern society they spring from achieved status, formalized interaction, and bureaucratic organization. Flows of migrants from rural to urban areas reinforce traditional elements in urban societies, and urbanites returning to former rural homes to fulfill family obligations transmit modern elements.

Although basic patterns and major variations can be discerned, the existence of about 100 different ethnic groups with divergent cultures complicates generalizations about traditional society (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Moreover, cultural influences whose origins lie outside the territorial boundaries of the country have subtly mingled with traditional forms.

The modern or national society has been largely the outgrowth of the introduction of Western institutional forms and modern technology. It is, however, grafted to traditional roots, and traditional structures endure, although they have often been partially transformed to fit the needs of the modern society. The result is that even those who live primarily in the modern society are bound to certain rituals and forms of the traditional society through kinship, although they have rejected some aspects of their traditional roles.

The young intellectual who thinks of himself as a new kind of Ghanaian cannot divorce himself completely from his upbringing and ties with the traditional society. The elder or local chief who wants to live the way of his fathers cannot ignore completely the world of regulations and local officials that presses upon him from all sides. The young intellectual and the elder meet when the village chief is called upon to pour the libation—to request the approval and blessing of the ancestors and local gods—at the opening of a trade union building or at similar official occasions. The difficulty in distinguishing between the interpretations each makes of the ceremony and the meanings derived by their attendance is secondary to the fact that both individuals participate in the same event.

Traditional stratification systems vary considerably in detail; virtually without exception, however, they are based on family or clan structures. Chiefs, who may be active in politics on the national level, are usually selected from senior members of one lineage or several lineages that are considered to have been among the founders of the community or ethnic group. Membership in a chiefly lineage is a source of some prestige but no special privilege. Age and personality are important criteria of social status.

Prestige on the national level is, in part, the result of political power and occupational position. Wealth is usually not directly converted into political power or social position but may be an outgrowth of such influence. Ethnic origin and ancestry play a greatly reduced role. Although many do not directly conceive of prestige in terms of educational background, education is the major determinant of social stratification in urban areas. Especially among the elite, it is the key to occupational advancement and also, in terms of the particular school attended or the type of education followed, provides a conscious index of prestige.

Literacy in English is an important dividing line between the two spheres of society and, when associated with education, provides a major means of advancement in the modern society. There is no rigid class structure, but differential access to education growing out of occupation, political power, and wealth fosters the development of social groupings endowed with higher or lower status.

Religion plays an important part in daily life at all levels of society. A diverse body of traditional religions predominate everywhere except in a few cities, mainly along the coast. Muslims are concentrated in pockets in the northern half of the country and in southern coastal cities. Christians are found mainly in urban areas and include, at least nominally, most educated Ghanaians. Few individuals have completely abandoned traditional beliefs or practices, and many eclectic religious cults and societies exist.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS

The Lineage

The building block of the traditional society is the unilineal descent group; kinsmen traced though the male line are distinguished from those traced through the female line, and the two are sorted into different groups. One descent group is said to be the individual's "own" group; whether it is that of his father's kin or that of his mother's kin depends on the rule used in the particular ethnic group. Reckoning relationships in this fashion produces compact and exclusive groups known as lineages, whose members lack the divided loyalties to "both sides of the family" common in Western societies. Kinsmen who are not members of one's "own" lineage are still recognized as kin, but of a different sort. Although specific lines in some cases cannot be traced, members of a lineage usually claim descent from the same, often legendary, founding ancestor.

The lineage is the basic local unit under customary law. It is a corporate group with definite identity and membership that controls property, the application of social sanctions, and the practice of religious ritual. The members of such kin groups are bound together by special rights and obligations. Through his lineage the individual acquires rights to land and social status; to his lineage he owes primary allegiance; and from his lineage he expects social sanctions. The lineage also functions as a mutual aid society in which each member has both the obligation to help others and the right to get assistance in case of need. Lineage members cooperate in providing funerals for members by sharing the expenses and performing the necessary rites. This shared responsibility is, in fact, an important criterion of lineage membership; it demonstrates that an individual fulfills his lineage obligations and is a member in good standing.

In earlier times ethnic groups augmented their numbers through the purchase or capture of slaves, which were attached to the lineages of their owners. The acquired slaves, however, did not have formal lineage rights. Sometimes they were able to acquire wealth and even purchase their own slaves. Their position was not secure, however; in some cases those serving masters of high social status were killed after the death of their master.

Although strict rules functioned to keep slave and lineage-born members of the family separate, other factors militated against such distinctions except within the family itself. No one was allowed to reveal the origins of another, and offenders were punished. To outsiders, slaves appeared to be part of the lineage; only when it came to succession to a lineage office was it clear that their real position denied them important lineage roles.

Kin ties through a lineage are usually reckoned only to the third or fourth generation—that is, back to the grandparents or great-grandparents. More distant relationships may be known to exist and may be traced by the identity of family name, but they do not carry much weight beyond the responsibility for extending hospitality. Generally, the effective lineage is a localized group composed of those kinsmen living in neighboring compounds of the village or in separate but adjacent villages.

Most ethnic groups, particularly those of the north and most southern groups other than the Akan, follow a patrilineal system. The Akan and a few others use a matrilineal system. Although descent in matrilineal groups is traced through women, most positions of importance and most clan property are controlled by male members—that is, by the sons of the female members. Although men cannot transmit membership to their sons under this system, they nevertheless consider that their primary loyalty in social and economic affairs lies with the lineage group composed of their mothers, brothers, sisters, sisters' children, and other matrilineal relatives.

Inheritance

Land is ordinarily the property of the lineage. It is thought of as being owned by the ancestors or local deities and held in trust for them by the lineage, which functions as a self-perpetuating corporation. Among most groups the land is administered by the lineage elders and worked by lineage members, who alone have rightful access to it and who are assigned specific shares by lineage officials. Usually the effective property-holding group is the local lineage group, whose members live close to one another in the area of the property. General rules for the transmission of property vary significantly between patrilineages and matrilineages; these rules are not rigid but serve as a guide in determining the kinds of claims to rights over property that can be made by various classes of individuals within a particular lineage.

Within a matrilineage, inheritance generally falls to the man's sister's son who, as a lineage member of the younger generation, is the presumptive heir. This is the practice ordinarily followed among the Akan peoples when a man has not indicated his wishes to the contrary. It has long been the practice among the Ashanti and Fante, and more recently among the Akyem and Nzema, however, to allow a man to make an oral will, setting aside as a "reasonable gift" for his sons or their sons any or all of his self-acquired property, including land; lineage property, of course, cannot be transmitted to nonmembers. This practice seems to be gaining favor among well-to-do cocoa farmers and businessmen who wish to leave their sons part of what they have helped to build. In patrilineal systems property usually passes to a man's sons or to his brothers and their sons. Usually there are no special provisions for sons since they usually inherit. A man may sometimes make a gift of his property, however, during his lifetime to his eldest son.

Women's property, including such things as household utensils and clothing, is ordinarily passed on to daughters, sisters, sisters' daughters, or daughters-in-law. Sometimes women own a few cattle, small plots of land, or—on the southern coast—boats; these possessions are usually passed on to their sons. Among the Ga, a woman's property is divided equally among her sisters and all of her children.

Family and Domestic Group

Family structure varies widely among the ethnic groups. Often the husband, wife, and unmarried children form the household, but in many cases it includes other persons. Many of the forms followed are different than the usual Western concept of family structure. Many local variations exist within the general framework of the lineage system. Some groups emphasize certain relationships and ignore others that may be important to other groups. In some tribes the individual's loyalty to his native lineage overrides any loyalty developed toward his spouse and his spouse's lineage; in other groups, a person marrying into the group, although he never becomes a complete member of his spouse's family, adopts its interests as his own.

Among the patrilineal peoples of the north, the domestic group often consists of two or more brothers with their wives and children, who usually occupy a single homestead with a separate set of rooms for each wife. Each husband is primarily responsible for the care of his own wife or wives and their children, but all the adult males of the family cooperate in providing for their dependents. The eldest brother is generally the head of the group.

Among the traditional Ewe, the largest household consists of some or all of the sons and grandsons of one male ancestor, together with their wives and children and unmarried sisters, and often includes other patrilineal relatives living as dependents of the household head. The smaller domestic group, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, their children, and perhaps several dependent relatives, is also found, particularly in newer settlements. This small household tends to develop into the larger one as more members are born into it and additional adult relatives come to live with their kinsmen.

Among the traditional Ga, husband and wife maintain separate residences, usually remaining with their own lineages in separate compounds. Children of both sexes are raised in their mother's compound, but at about the age of thirteen boys go to live with their fathers in men's compounds. A men's compound contains a localized segment of a patrilineage, consisting of brothers and their sons in groups of from three to ten. Each adult male has his own hut or room. A women's compound is usually larger and contains three to four generations of mothers and daughters with their young children of both sexes who belong to a number of different patrilineages.

After marriage the husband remains in the men's compound of his father; the wife, in the women's compound of her mother. Meals are prepared by the wife in the women's compound and carried by her or the children to the husband. The members of the men's compound usually eat together, although their food has come from several different women's compounds. The wife from time to time visits her husband at night, usually at his request.

Among the traditional matrilineal Akan, the domestic group usually consists of one woman and her daughters and their children. Each house is divided into rooms, from five to as many as twenty, and each adult usually has his or her own room.

After marriage the husband and wife continue to live with the lineage into which each was born; the husband lives in the house of his mother or of his maternal uncle, and the wife lives in the house of her mother. In this type of family situation each spouse is subject to the authority of a different household head and, since spouses are always members of different lineages, each is ultimately subject to the authority of the senior men of different lineages. The wife prepares the meals, which are then carried to the husband. The wife, on occasion, visits her husband in his house at night. Children live and sleep in the mother's room or with the mother's sister, though they often eat with their fathers. A boy leaves his mother's house at about the age of thirteen and goes to live with his father or with his maternal uncle if the latter does not live in the house of the boy's mother.

Some Akan couples live either with members of the wife's lineage or with the husband's maternal uncle, who is a member of his matrilineage. The domestic group is usually headed by the husband and father, but occasionally it is headed by a woman, usually the mother or grandmother. The head of the family group has authority over its members in domestic matters and is responsible for providing for them.

Marriage and Divorce

Marriage follows one of three types: customary marriage; marriage under the Marriage Ordinance and other statutes; and marriage under Muslim law. The vast majority of marriages are still contracted by customary rites and under customary law. Statutory marriage is a comparatively recent phenomenon and is largely confined to educated young people in towns. Under customary law a man can contract any number of marriages, depending upon tribal custom; under statutory law he can contract or register only one marriage, which is dissolved only by divorce or death. The basic statutory provisions pertaining to marriage were set forth in the Marriage Ordinance of 1884. Although various revisions of this act had been proposed throughout the 1960s, in early 1971 no substantial modifications had been made (see ch. 8, The Governmental System).

In many traditional groups polygamy is a stated ideal. The maintenance of more than one wife, however, is a luxury that few can afford. Although many men enter into several marriages, most men have only one wife at a time. Efforts designed to reduce polygamy have been only marginally effective in the traditional groups. In response to economic pressure and the demands of modern life polygamy in urban areas was on the decline in the late 1960s.

A marriage under customary law is generally arranged or agreed upon by the fathers and other senior kinsmen of the prospective bride and bridegroom. This type of marriage serves to link the two groups together in social relationships, and family considerations frequently outweigh personal ones. Age at marriage varies somewhat among ethnic groups. Men generally marry girls somewhat younger than themselves. Girls are expected to marry when they attain nubility or shortly thereafter. Men usually remain single until their late teens or early twenties.

Customary marriage is usually by traditional rites, which accord public recognition of the union of the two parties. Usually there is a religious rite, which bestows the approval and satisfaction of the ancestors, local gods, or mystic personification of the earth spirit. The marriage is made final as a binding contract by the delivery of predetermined gifts or bridewealth (usually in both money and goods) from the bridegroom's people to the bride's people or by bride service done by the bridegroom on the lands of the bride's father or other near relatives. When property must be accumulated to obtain a bride, a young man may by right expect various of his lineage mates to supply specific shares or items; he is likewise obligated to supply their needs in similar circumstances.

The property is distributed to various specific members of the bride's lineage. In case of divorce, the property must in many cases be refunded by the bride's relatives to the relatives of the bridegroom. Both families, therefore, have an important stake in the stability of the marriage.

In recent years the growing opportunities for young men to earn cash have begun to undermine this aspect of the traditional marriage arrangements. A bridegroom who can supply his own bridewealth is much less dependent on his kinsmen and may act more independently.

Marriage usually takes place between local lineages of the same ethnic groups. Men and women must take spouses from lineages other than their own, the particular one usually being selected on the basis of the relations within the group. This general rule of lineage exogamy is basic to the kinship system throughout Ghana. The preferred spouse is the mother's brother's child or the father's sister's child; this person always belongs to a different lineage than onesself, but to the same one as one's parent. Marriages of cross-cousins, as these relatives are called, frequently involve mutual exchanges of women between the respective lineages.

Sexual relations outside marriage are generally treated with tolerance, as long as they do not disrupt social relations within the local community. In the Northern Region premarital sexual relations are permissible and are expected to occur as part of the training of the young for marriage. Adultery can be given as grounds for divorce in customary law, but a man often does not dismiss his adulterous wife, since any children born of an adulterous union will be regarded as his own.

Divorce is apparently more frequent and easier to accomplish among the peoples of the south, especially the Akan, than among those of the north. One northern people, the Konkomba, allow no divorce, although wives sometimes run away and husbands occasionally repudiate wives. In principle, either the husband or the wife can initiate the divorce but, in fact, the husband usually does so. Common grounds for divorce are repeated infidelity, quarrelsomeness, barrenness, and incompatibility. When a man divorces his wife, he or her close relatives usually receive some compensation in money or goods, often the refunded bridewealth. If the husband has a specific complaint against her—for example, adultery—part of the bridewealth may be returned to him or he may receive redress in the form of fines charged against his wife or a third party. In the event of divorce, young children may remain living with their mother, but the father retains his rights over them; in patrilineal communities children remain members of their father's patrilineage. Even among the matrilineal Akan, the father still remains responsible for his children and has custody over them until they are married, although they remain members of their mother's matrilineage.

Divorce under the Marriage Ordinance applies to only a very few people and is quite different than divorce under customary law. Either party may initiate proceedings, but the basis for divorce is nineteenth-century English law, which allowed for divorce only when adultery was proved. Divorce is made final by a decree of a court. Statutory divorce is presumed to be extremely rare, though no figures are available. Most alienated couples married under the ordinance separate and go their individual ways quietly without recourse to the courts.

Social Interaction

Social interaction in traditional society is set in the framework of localized kin groups. Membership in these groups determines an individual's allegiance, his economic rights and obligations, and his ritual observances. His peers are his kinsmen and neighbors. He respects and defers to his senior kinsmen, to the elders of the community, and to his local chiefs and religious leaders. Although traditional society is egalitarian, members of a large, wealthy, or politically powerful lineage may have had more prestige than those of a small, weak lineage, and to be eligible for chieftaincy in most groups a man has to be born into one of the lineages from which the chief is traditionally chosen. Age and personality are, however, more important criteria for prestige; the elders of a community were highly regarded by junior men of all lineages, and a reputation for wisdom, fairness, and adherence to custom singles a man out for respect. In a matrilineal system leadership is exercised by the men born into the lineage.

A network of mutual obligations joins the chiefs and the other members of the traditional group. When necessary, the community as a whole takes punitive action against the individual. The elders and the chiefs act for the ancestors as the custodians of the community. Disputes are often settled informally by the mediation of relatives and friends, but important chiefs sometimes hold courts to settle serious matters.

Chieftaincy is usually hereditary in a lineage, the senior heir being approved by the community. If the senior heir is considered by his people to be unqualified for chiefly office, he is passed over in favor of a junior kinsman. Men who are not in line for chieftaincy are often able to have titles conferred upon them by senior chiefs of established lines.

The lineage of the chief is usually reputed to be the senior line of descent from the supposed founding ancestor of the community. Thus the chief is viewed as the senior kinsman of the community and the representative of the ancestors. The lineages of chiefs are often larger and stronger than other lineages of the community, and all members are accorded general respect. The members of chiefly lineages who do not hold special office, however, are commoners, like the members of other lineages, and all perform the same sort of work.

A chief remains an effective leader as long as he serves the best interests of the community as its members view them. As spokesmen for the community, the elders usually propose the new candidate for chieftaincy; similarly, they voice the discontent of the community and in this way impose a check on the abuse of authority by the chief. Among the Akan and some neighboring peoples there is an established procedure for deposing an unpopular chief. Among northern ethnic groups there are no regularized ways under traditional law to depose a chief. A chief might be sidestepped and certain issues simply not taken before him, but a bad chief must be endured.

The most widespread symbol of chieftaincy is a highly decorated wooden stool; in the paraphernalia of chieftaincy it has a central place among the Akan, and its use has spread to other groups. Among the Akan, each lineage has a stool, which is the symbol of the continuing and mystical association of living, dead, and unborn kinsmen. The stool of a chiefly lineage, in addition, embodies the enduring relationship between the chief, his predecessors and successors, and the continuing community. The Golden Stool, the unifying symbol of the Ashanti tribes, is unique in that it symbolizes the enduring relationships within the Ashanti Confederation; it is also believed to contain the spirits of the ancestors and the soul of the *asantehene* (see Glossary).

The authority held by the chief of each ethnic group varies widely. In some groups the sociopolitical system is not highly differentiated and, as among the Kusasi, there are simply clan heads instead of chiefs.

Rivalry sometimes occurs between the chief and religious leaders. In many areas of the north those owing allegiance to a particular cult priest are not confined to one political division.

Frequently the cult priest does not even live in the territory in which his followers reside. Although lineage matters fall to the lineage elders and chief, the responsibility for certain spiritual matters is not clearly distinguished.

The distribution of wealth also varies widely and has divergent effects on the power of the local chief. In many cases wealth falls to those lineages of royal stature. In some ethnic groups lineages with economic standing cooperate with the royal lineage. In coastal areas, however, trade led to the concentration of economic resources in the hands of a few "big men." Their attempts to use their retainers to influence court decisions were eventually institionalized in the companies known as *asafo* (see Glossary) (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

In some areas there is a hierarchy of chiefs, which provides a nexus for the organization of larger political groups, tribes, and tribal states. Chiefs are ranked by their chiefly titles in the hierarchy, which has fixed relationships of superordination and subordination. Ranking of this sort is particularly marked among the Akan, who have fairly complex organizations with a good deal of ritual paraphernalia associated with chiefly office and an elaborate order of precedence for chiefs. In the north the Gonja, Dagomba, and Mamprusi have a fairly well articulated hierarchy of chiefs, who are ranked within the framework of a large traditional structure, but it is not nearly as elaborate as that of the Akan. Elsewhere the local chief usually is not subordinated in a formal way to other chiefs, although he is ranked in a general way in relation to other chiefs in the immediate area by the antiquity of his title, the strength of his following, and his personal abilities.

The most respected people in the traditional society are those individuals whose services are needed for the well-being of the community. In addition to the chiefs and the elders of the community, there are the ritual specialists—priests of the gods, keepers of the shrines, *tendaanas* (custodians of the earth), native doctors, and others. Ritual offices are sometimes hereditary, but anyone who comes under the influence of the gods or spirits might become a ritual specialist if he is accepted as such by the community. The important men of small kinship groups and of larger communities gain their positions of authority by age or by personal ability. Every old man is respected, but some who are younger are more important than others in local councils because of their intelligence, knowledge, ability to speak well and give sound advice, and popularity with their neighbors.

Men generally are the wielders of power and prestige and hold most positions of authority. They make most of the decisions affecting the life of the community, though they may have been influenced in their decisionmaking by women. As a group, however, women do not have less social status than men on the basis of their sex, and women play important roles in community life. Some women—those who engage in trade or those who sell handicrafts or some of the products of their household plots—have partial or complete economic independence. Older women are accorded almost the same prestige that is given to older men. A grandmother with many children and grandchildren is often quite an important and widely respected figure in the community, especially among the matrilineal Akan. The grandmother, surrounded by her daughters and their children, can have considerable power in the family and the local community.

In some areas, women are singled out for special offices connected with the well-being of the community and are figures of considerable prestige and influence. Outstanding cases in point are the so-called queen mothers of the Akan and the so-called stool mothers of the Ga. The queen mother is usually the sister of the chief and, as such, is the mother of the likely heir to the chief. She acts as the conscience of the chief and is primarily concerned about the welfare of women and matters related to birth, marriage, and family life. She advises the chief in cases concerning these issues and has an important ritual role in maintaining the community and in validating the chief's position in it. The stool mother of the Ga has a less significant role in the life of the community, but her ritual role is very much like that of the queen mother of the Akan. She performs certain rituals in connection with the lineage stool.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Traditional social institutions in Ghana have not existed in a vacuum. British influence has been present for generations, and by the time of independence the British had exercised substantial political authority over certain southern areas for well over 100 years (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). In areas under its control the colonial government ended warfare among tribes, abolished slavery, imposed some taxation, and established bureaucratic and juridical procedures; the social relationships that had existed before their arrival were altered by their influence—at times radically and always permanently. Some individuals and groups in ethnic societies lost power, and others gained power as the British abolished some traditional functions and established new ones.

The introduction of currency and of new technology began to undermine the power of traditionally influential elders. Young persons adept in new techniques and able to earn cash in the money market could take advantage of an unaccustomed new freedom from restraints imposed by their elders. The inalienability of lineage lands was also eroded by the introduction of the money market. Formal education and the introduction of the English language produced a new elite class of literate graduates who functioned as intermediaries between the indigenous peoples and the colonial power and, later, the world at large.

The growth of new values, social institutions, and patterns of interaction in urban areas and among certain peoples in southern Ghana represented the initial emergence of a new national culture and social system resulting from these changes. In early 1971 the contrasts between the traditional system, which formed a base for the new society, and the emerging society were not always distinct. Frequently, change was incremental rather than absolute, and many people participated in elements associated with both systems. Traditional institutions were in many cases being fitted to new functions or given new outward structures. Although various social and psychological tensions existed, this mixing of traditional practices and modern concepts eased the transition.

These changes, which reflected a society in transition, were taking place primarily in urban areas and in rural areas involved in a market economy. The general structure of ultimate society was still fluid and open to change, and the outcome of existent trends was uncertain. Some elements of urban society identified with modernization, such as a preference for Western forms of relaxation and classical works of Western literature, were prestigious characteristics of an urban elite subculture that was not, and never would be, typical of the overall national society.

The penetration of Western knowledge, techniques, and organization was not uniform throughout the country. Naturally, it occurred first and in most concentrated form on the coast; consequently, the coastal and southern peoples were the greatest beneficiaries of the new economic and social opportunities and, conversely, suffered the greatest social upheaval. The alteration and adaptation of traditional society had occurred particularly rapidly in urban areas, in part because of the concentration of economic development and social infrastructure, such as education, in the southern half of the country.

Significant modernizing changes in the traditional society began in the late nineteenth century, although coastal peoples had experienced some effects of Western contacts earlier (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Change was a gradual process, marked by marginal changes and shifts that affected only a small segment of the population. After World War II, and particularly after independence from the British in 1957, both the rate and extent of change increased rapidly.

The elements of Western society introduced into Ghana were based on values and concepts totally foreign to those of the traditional cultures. Rather than being based on the inherited and personal relationships of kinship groups, interaction was organized on the more impersonal and bureaucratic considerations of educational achievement, economic status, and individual action. In the traditional society the individual had social importance because he functioned in a matrix of kin and personal relationships and obligations; his social identity could not be separated from that of his lineage. In the British value system, on the other hand, the individual existed as a free and separate social agent. His legal obligations were largely contractual rather than kin based, and his relations with other persons were dependent on individual action and interest.

Formal education provided the traditional society with the major means of access to the society evolving in urban areas. It brought a knowledge of English and offered the skills and experience that were necessary to obtain employment and also served to rank the educated in the new-found hierarchy. Graduates of the older, established schools held positions of higher prestige than graduates of the newer schools.

Urban Society

Although many city dwellers maintain an ethnic identity, even though in an altered form, movement to the city represents a degree of identification with the aspirations of the modern, rather than the traditional, society. Migration from the countryside was, in 1971, one of the major sources of urban growth, although many of the older towns were inhabited by third- or fourth-generation urban dwellers. Surveys completed during the middle and late 1960s showed that migration to urban areas was affected by several factors. A large proportion of immigrants came from areas immediately adjacent to urban centers. Larger towns were more likely to attract immigrants than were small towns. There was a high correlation between economic well-being and educational level and the tendency to migrate, although occupation, marital status, and the number of dependents did not have much significance. The survey indicated that, although migrants to urban areas came from divergent traditions, they had many similar aspirations and attitudes.

The urban society developing in the early 1970s was characterized by considerable diversity in living habits and perspectives based on a mixture of traditional and modern elements. The developing urban society was a series of continua, with few individuals falling totally in either the traditional or modern sector. On the one end is the newly arrived resident, with a limited knowledge of English and Western society. Although he may have some education, he is likely to maintain many traditional patterns in his eating habits, clothing, and leisure activities. Mutual aid societies with tribal orientation provided an important source of social interaction and identity for him. If he is employed, he is likely to be a laborer, small shopkeeper, or trader.

At the other end of the continuum is the established resident, who may come from a second- or third-generation urban family. He is more likely to wear a Western-style business suit, eat European foods, and live in a Western-style house that is furnished in a European style. He is generally a professed Christian and is involved in voluntary charitable organizations. He is a political leader, government official, senior civil servant, doctor, lawyer, college professor, journalist, or important businessman.

Various criteria can be used to divide the upper ranks of urban society into groups in terms of the functions they perform. These persons are tied to economics, politics, education, administration, medicine, or other professions. Within these groups are individuals who, on the basis of their education, professional standing, and participation in the new urban culture, are accorded high status. These individuals represent the elites of their respective groupings.

These intersecting elites, taken as a whole, however, do not compose an upper class. The individuals constituting these elites come from different social and ethnic origins and draw power and social status from different points. Most of them continue to participate in certain aspects of traditional society and socialize with nonelite members of their own or other lineage groups. Most importantly, they do not think of themselves as an elite group.

Although the class system is still fluid, the education system has begun to develop and perpetuate lines of stratification, particularly in the urban areas. Statistics in the late 1960s showed that educational recruitment patterns favored students coming from urban families with fathers having high occupational status and educational levels. This was particularly true for female students. Although the system showed a slight increase in fluidity, expansion in the educational system would probably continue to favor children of families with some professional background over workers and rural families. Education remains as a means of social mobility, but the range of mobility is limited; movements from peasant or working-class families to the upper ranks of society are less easily accomplished.

Surveys also revealed that students at the secondary level were highly influenced by the views their peers held of them, wanting to be admired and accepted by them and not necessarily by their families or lineage mates. Many expressed dissatisfaction with existent opportunities and disillusionment over the value of continuing their secondary education because of declining job opportunities. Some were remaining in school because of the obligation they felt they owed their family or clan. Most rated such fields as medicine, science, law, and secondary school teaching high on the social scale. They were more likely, however, to express career aspirations of teaching in primary schools or working in clerical or administrative positions, and many secondary school leavers were taking jobs previously associated with those who had only completed middle school.

Students at the university level showed a greater sense of cohesion, in part a result of the greater amount of education they had in common and also reflecting their awareness of the high prestige they held as a group. They tended to think in universal terms and held perpectives extending beyond the territorial bounds of the country. Many had assumed the attitudes of foreign teachers who previously had dominated the education system.

Initially, primary school leavers possessed unrealistic attitudes and searched for high-status clerical positions. Surveys in the late 1960s indicated that they have become willing to accept skilled manual positions, probably reflecting the higher general level of education in the country and a more realistic view of the social environment and the available employment opportunities.

Family life in urban areas approximates Western behavior in varying degree, depending on the family's position between traditional and modern influence. Decisions in the urban family are increasingly being made jointly by both parents. As children spend more and more time away from home, more of their values are inculcated by their peers and adults—particularly teachers—who are not members of their lineage. Social activities organized by schools are becoming increasingly important in the life of urban children and have reduced sibling interaction. As a result, an increasing part of socialization is taking place outside the context of the kin group and immediate family, in contrast to the rural society, in which the family and lineage remain the most significant institution.

In general, the population structure of urban areas is young and shows a disproportionate number of males. The major exception to this pattern is found among the Ga, who were early residents in coastal areas and who by 1960 constituted over half of the population of Accra. Since most of the Ga living in the city had been born there, their way of life more closely reflected urban patterns than did other migrant groups. Both the age and sex structures of the Ga population were more balanced, and a higher percentage of Ga males had Western educations than did non-Ga males.

Even among nonelites, residence in urban areas has resulted in variations on traditional family patterns. In general, the new patterns emerging represent accommodations of traditional patterns to the needs of urban life rather than the rejection of traditional relationships. Among the Ga, this process is most pronounced because of their long history of urban settlement. In the traditional Ga family the husband and wife maintained separate residences and were tied together through complicated family obligations. Among urban Ga the independent, conjugal family has arisen, based on the residence of the married couple in the same dwelling. Certain traditional Ga elements, however, such as the superordination of the male over the female, have been carried over.

As the lineage system weakens and as population movement separates more and more persons from the kinsmen on whom they would ordinarily have depended for aid, companionship, and entertainment, many turn to voluntary-membership clubs and organizations composed of people with common interests rather than inherited ethnic links. These groups are numerous even in small urban areas; they have occurred because the urban population cannot always depend on ethnic structures in time of need and because the ethos of the voluntary organization corresponds to the greater individualism of urban society.

Mutual aid associations have an established tradition in the country, and most people hold membership in one or several of the joint provident funds, ethnic associations, mutual benefit organizations, and occupational societies. Members of the urban elite join voluntary service associations, such as charitable societies, dining clubs, and literary and debating societies, for prestige and recreation as well as for the benefits these organizations extend to their members. Membership in both kinds of organizations provide indexes of social prestige and is therefore closely linked to social stratification and mobility.

These associations are primarily in towns and in the larger villages of the southern coast. Both men and women are active in them; some organizations are made up of both men and women, although some associations consist of one sex only. Men hold the executive positions in mixed associations and tend to predominate in the elite associations, with the exception of charitable societies in which the women are very active. Men also predominate in the various ethnic group associations, but women far outnumber men in the mutual benefit and occupational associations that make up the bulk of voluntary organizations.

These voluntary organizations have fairly high entrance fees and regular dues. They provide very few tangible benefits to members, but their intangible social benefits are considerable. Some of them, particularly the charitable organizations, accomplish some work in the welfare field, but most groups are used by the educated elite to gain or maintain social prestige.

Most of the associations to which the semiliterate and illiterate belong provide social security benefits of some sort and are organized on ethnic or occupational lines. The membership of some ethnic organizations is based on specific lineage connections or birth in a particular village or district. Others are more broadly based and open to anyone from a particular indigenous group. A well-known secular benefit society is the Nanamei Akpee (Society of Friends), which has branches in most sizable towns.

The mutual aid associations provide many of the benefits deriving from lineage membership to individuals who, because of their relocation in towns and their additional commitments there, are unable to continue active membership in their lineages. They are taking the place of the lineage in situations where the old kin organization is impaired or is breaking down. Particularly striking is the common feature of funeral benefits, such as money, food, and rites; in both the voluntary association and the lineage these benefits are both the principal obligation and the right of all members.

Many associations provide, in addition, financial assistance to needy members, in the form of weekly or monthly payments, out of funds raised by members' regular subscriptions. Some even cover hospital expenses for their members and provide unemployment compensation. A few provide some educational benefits by running their own schools or by offering scholarships for study in established schools. Most of these associations also act as units of social control by having established procedures for settling personal quarrels among members without the necessity of formal litigation.

The associations to which members of the educated elite belong usually cut across both tribal and occupational lines;

the members are drawn together by a common social station and interests. Among them are the Ghana Red Cross Society, the Ghana Music Society, the Accra Turf Club, and the Ghana Club. Two prominent men's clubs in Accra are the International Club and the Rodger Club. An exclusive women's club is the Accra Women's Dining Club.

Changes in Rural Society

The majority of Ghanaians live in the countryside rather than in cities, and they have not been immune from social change. Although new patterns and ways of life are most common in the urban areas, many aspects of rural life have been altered by the variety of social, technological, and economic influences brought to bear in Ghanaian life during the twentieth century.

The basic structure of lineage relationships remains intact in most cases, but it has had to adapt to modern influences. In addition, much of the former symbolic and ideological significance of lineage relationships has deteriorated; many of the glamorous and prestigious models admired and imitated by the young people more commonly represent the aspirations and values of the new national society rather than the traditional groups.

The introduction of cash crops and wage labor has had multiple effects on the social system. The production of cocoa among the Ashanti, Fante, and Ewe groups, for example, brought them into contact with marketing and other Western concepts related to commercial transactions. Handicraft production, including a wide range of products from baskets to silver and gold objects, had similar results, as did such skills as tailoring, carpentry, and masonry. Fishing in the coastal waters or in the mouths of rivers also brought sources of cash income. Wage labor often takes the laborer away from his home village and the protection and services provided by tribal and lineage organizations. Mutual benefit societies and cooperatives have formed to supply these services. Although some of these mutual benefit groups are composed of people of common lineage or tribal origin, they have reduced the importance of lineages themselves.

In some cases these social institutions were transformed into organizations that were to become the basic models for modern labor and political organizations. Varying degrees of change in the structural and functional aspects of these organizations were affected. Cattle trade and butchery, for example, were the monopoly of the Hausa. The traditional social organization of Hausa brokers was absorbed into the present-day brokers' organization. There was little change in the actual structure of the social organization, but social functions became of secondary importance. The butchers' social organization became a cooperative society. The original personal family base of the organization was replaced by written laws and cash accounts.

By the time of independence the power of the chief and the local councils had already been eroded and was in need of redefinition. The introduction of Western forms of local government in the country during the 1950s and 1960s limited their actual power to that of consultative and advisory roles and, in turn, further reduced their prestige and the extent of allegiance they held. Local administration, particularly during the era of Kwame Nkrumah, was transferred to individuals whose lineage was seldom royal. The resultant loss of prestige was met with dissatisfaction by the chiefs and welcomed by those who were able to enter the area of national politics.

The office of chief, however, still retains various social and religious roles, and the chief still organizes many quasi-governmental services, such as search parties, festivals, and annual rituals. The chief may also have assumed certain elements required to function in the new system and may serve as a means of communication with the central government; as such, a chief may be more effective in the implementation of change than the actual legal administrators. A chief still possesses many symbols whose meaning in the daily life of the ordinary rural person is far more real than that of the distant government in Accra.

Certain aspects of change have occurred within the context of traditional society itself. The abolition of slavery resulted in greater freedom to discuss family origin, although even in the late 1960s care was taken not to comment on family origins in the presence of children or individuals who might report the discussion to others. The descendants of former slaves in many cases have become the dominant portion of the lineage group. They may choose to perform the rites and other obligations of the lineage or may abandon the responsibility.

In early 1971 the importance of lineage and kinship obligations was gradually changing at all levels of society. Assistance of clansmen was still important, but among the urban dwellers the range of eligible relatives had narrowed and had become more specified. The greatest sense of responsibility was in the care of one's mother, followed by assistance with education costs. Increases in social services offered by the government tend to perpetuate this trend.

The greatest effect on traditional family patterns was visible in urban areas. Among the Anlo villagers, for example, traditional marriage ceremonies had been greatly simplified or eliminated, as had been a good share of the ritual. Families in urban areas still arranged marriages, but young people were more frequently claiming the right to do their own choosing, with family approval still being taken into account.

Major targets of direct change during the colonial period were the institutions of social control. The authority of the chiefs and of the lineage system was weakened initially by the establishment of new administrative units and processes. After the early 1920s, however, the system of indirect rule actually strengthened the position of the chiefs and perpetuated the existing sociopolitical order. At the same time, it ended for thirty years the traditional system that had been slowly adapting to new foreign influences and altering political situations (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Social stratification and mobility also were affected by certain economic developments and the establishment of educational institutes based on Western patterns. Change usually resulted as an interplay of these factors rather than as the result of any one of them.

The introduction of cash crops and the intensification of market transactions placed a monetary value on land and eroded the principle of inalienable lineage landholdings. Disputes over the distribution of land rights previously had been few and easily settled by the local authorities. Lineage heads, however, lacked the concepts and experience to handle disputes over the rights of one individual to claim title to a certain piece of land and offer it for sale and were even less capable to administer the distribution of the cash resulting from such sales. Such disputes marked a breakdown in the concept of a common lineage interest and diminution of the prestige of lineage authority.

The relocation of certain groups whose land was inundated by the creation of Lake Volta has disrupted traditional social patterns in a major area. In the resettlement region the physical environment itself differs from the traditional pattern. The land has been cleared, and houses have been built of concrete and metal along Western models. For the most part these houses consist of one or two rooms and do not have bathing and cooking facilities as originally planned. They stand in straight lines and resemble Western-style suburban projects.

Residents of these projects often come from different villages or clans, and the traditional leaders sometimes enter into conflict. The newly appointed administrators of the project lack the prestige of traditional leaders and rely on the central government for important decisions. The political and social systems stand highly fragmented. The local markets and schools are becoming centers of social interaction, but village cohesion remains marginal.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Religion plays an important part in the daily life of all Ghanaians. Traditional religions retain their strength and influence because of their intimate relation to family loyalties and to the local mores. Each ethnic group has its own distinct religious traditions tied to its principal way of livelihood, a sacred place, or a sacred person in the early history of the group. A belief in the immediate influence on the individual of the spirts of dead ancestors and of personified forces of nature and a belief in the efficacy of magic and ritual propitiation of the gods are characteristic of all traditional religions. Each has its pantheon of gods, and many religions have special priesthoods, cults, and shrines. Supernatural powers give religious sanction to the political authority of a tribal chief and to the ethical code of the group.

Slightly more than 38 percent of the population adheres to one of the traditional religions (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). More than 42 percent are Christian, and 12 percent are Muslim. Christianity, strongest along the coast, where European influence has been greatest and of longest duration, extends north through the Ashanti Region and the Volta Region; a few Christian areas are found in the north. Because of the long history of mission schools in the country, most educated Ghanaians are at least nominally Christians. Muslims are concentrated in pockets in the northern half of the country and in large southern cities. Few Christians and even fewer Muslims have completely abandoned their traditional beliefs, and most maintain at least some contact with relatives who profess traditional religious beliefs and particiapte in important family rituals. There is a general tolerance of religious differences among individuals and little conflict among the religious communities.

Most ethnic groups are divided along religious lines, usually between traditional beliefs and one of the imported religions. Islam has the greatest influence among the Dagomba; the Mamprusi; the small group of Walba (Wala); and the Hausa and Fulani who immigrated to Ghana from Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. Christianity has more believers among the coastal Akan, the Ga, and the Ewe (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Each of the three main religions—indigenous, Muslim, and Christian—is subdivided by differences in belief and practice.

Local differences among the indigenous religions are numerous, and it is possible to speak of about fifty distinct religions, each associated with an ethnic group but holding a number of common tenets. Adherents to Islam in West Africa may be divided into Sunni Muslims and members of the Ahmadiyya sect, founded in Pakistan in 1900 and considered heretical by some Muslims. The numerous Christian denominations found in the country include the major Western denominations brought by missionaries from abroad and local variations of Protestantism that incorporate beliefs and practices of traditional religions.

Most traditional religions distinguish between a supreme god, several lesser gods, the spirits of departed ancestors, and a variety of minor deities. The spirit world is considered as real as the world of the living. Man, gods, and ancestral spirits are linked together by a network of mutual relationships and responsibilities. The action of a man can affect a god or a spirit just as the action of a god or a spirit can affect a living man. Man is neither the lord of creation nor the plaything of the gods. Man needs the blessing of the gods in order to live and prosper, but the gods also need the recognition and reverence of man for strength to act in the affairs of man. Similarly, man needs the approval and support of his ancestors in all his endeavors, but the ancestors need ritual care and attention at their shrines. If one fulfills his obligations, the other will in turn fulfill his.

Worshipping departed ancestors is a major characteristic of all traditional religions. A very thin line separates the living from the dead, who continue their life in the spirit world. The dead, who are the most immediate link with the world beyond and the most important link between the living and their gods, are thought to be constantly near and to watch every thought and action of their living descendants. Some ancestors may, by virtue of their position in the lineage, be considered on a par with the gods. It is often held that ancestors are reincarnated in younger generations; barrenness is therefore a great misfortune because it prevents ancestors from returning to life.

It is strongly believed, particularly among the illiterate and by participants in the traditional society, that there is an intimate relationship between supernatural powers and the daily life of the individual. Nothing happens by mere chance; there are no accidents or coincidences. If a snake bites a man, someone or something sent it. It is important to find out who and why and what can be done about it. The bitten man must try to make amends to the man or spirit who bears him ill-will. Similarly all sickness, even death, is attributed to spiritual agents, acting either directly or as a result of human intervention. The prescribed moral code must be strictly observed out of fear of angering the spirits and bringing about sickness, death, or other misfortune. Diviners and oracles are consulted to discover the cause of any illness and to determine what exorcising steps must be taken. Herbalists and witch doctors are widely consulted for the same purposes.

There is no strong sense of individual guilt or hopelessness. When a man is assumed to have offended the gods, the spirits, or his ancestors, his act is generally regarded as an error or omission rather than a deliberate affront. Spiritual displeasure is believed to be fairly easily assuaged, and the affected individual can correct his mistake by appropriate ritual action.

The rejection of traditional religious expression in favor of a religion introduced from outside is complicated by the social and political functions of religion in traditional society. Some Christians have made the total readjustment implied by the rejection of traditional society, but most still participate to varying degrees in it. Some have compartmentalized their religious and social perspectives, and other professing Christians attempt to reconcile their new beliefs and traditional practices.

Throughout the 1960s a growing need for forms of Christianity adapted to the traditional forms of religious expression became increasingly apparent, and this was reflected in the development of two types of organizations. One consisted of numerous separatist churches, usually derivatives of established Christian denominations and often named after their founding leaders. They often incorporated faith healing and prophecy and placed considerable emphasis on ritual and emotionalism.

In addition to the separatist churches, various religious cults combined traditional beliefs in magic with elements of Christianity. The major emphasis of these cults is on curative and preventive remedies, chants, and charms designed to ward off the power of witches and malevolent spirits. Both types of groups offer social activities in addition to their religious and medical roles. Some have rival drum societies and singing groups that are highly popular among the young. To their adherents, most of whom feel cut off from traditional society but are not yet comfortable in modern society, these cults offer the sense of security that comes of belonging to an established group.

For many Ghanaians Christianity is a symbol of modernity, which is, in part, the result of the role played by the Christian church in the establishment of medical and educational programs in the country. Mission schools have never required conversion for admission, but parents often have felt that their children would be admitted more readily if they were practicing Christians. Mission children exposed to Christian theology usually have accepted the doctrine as a matter of course. Throughout the country's recent history, Christians have been among the first to assume membership in the new national elite groups that have evolved.

Among the more educated elite groups the extent of modernity and social standing is frequently related to the specific denomination to which one belongs. Most Ghanaians with a higher than average education belong to one of the prominent worldwide denominations. Less educated individuals may belong to any church, but almost half of the separatist and syncretic sects draw their membership from this group.

CHAPTER 6
LIVING CONDITIONS

In 1970 the standard of health and welfare of the people was one of the major concerns of the government. The rapid urbanization that had taken place since the end of World War II had led to the development of population centers without adequate sanitation facilities. Some government projects and medium and higher priced private housing in urban areas did provide adequate facilities; however, compact areas of what initially had been constructed as temporary housing without sanitation facilities have mushroomed and continued to be occupied on a permanent basis. These areas represented one of the major obstacles government officials faced in their efforts to improve the health level of urban areas.

Government efforts to raise the standard of living of the population have included such programs as the construction of low-cost housing, the provision of pure water from piped supplies and wells in both rural and urban areas, the expansion and improvement of medical facilities, and a widespread program of health education aimed at changing the attitudes of the tradition-bound older generation. Particular efforts were focused on diet and the widespread existence of nutritional deficiencies that have been the cause of much of the country's poor health. Health service programs have constituted important parts of the various development plans that had been drawn up since independence. Major priorities have included: increasing the number of qualified medical personnel at all levels; intensifying the campaign against the most serious communicable diseases through curative and preventive measures and through educating the public; extending and improving the maternity welfare programs already in operation; and constructing additional medical facilities. Although in 1970 none of these goals had been fully achieved, progress had been made in all four areas.

Missionaries and missionary societies first introduced modern medicine in the nineteenth century, and until after World War I they were almost alone in the fight against disease. Since the end of World War II the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have provided much financial and technical aid for the elimination of disease and the raising of health standards. A serious shortage of medical specialists existed, and local facilities for training medical personnel needed expansion and updating. Many Ghanaians continued to rely on traditional doctors and herbalists.

In 1965 the first legislation went into effect providing for social security on a national basis. Under this plan a provident fund scheme (lump-sum payment) was established that lasted until 1970, when a conversion to a pension scheme was scheduled. By 1970 legislation also provided for sickness, maternity, and work injury benefits. Government welfare programs were the responsibility of the Department of Social Welfare under the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. In the rural areas and, to a considerable extent, in the urban centers, however, the traditional patterns of social security based on kin obligations still prevailed.

THE LEVEL OF LIVING

The determination of the level of living was hampered by the lack of statistical information. Perhaps half of the population lived at an agricultural subsistence level. Cash crop farmers, however, enjoyed a relatively high level of living not only for the country but also for Africa as a whole. National income for fiscal year 1966/67 was placed at about N₵214 (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary). Available figures indicated an uneven distribution of wealth and showed a higher range of income for the southern half of the country, where the great bulk of cash crops was raised and most industrial activity took place (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). Most wage-earning families had more than one wage earner or had a supplementary income from trading or some other source. Per capita income had steadily increased since World War II, but the continuously rising cost of living had prevented any appreciable increase in real income.

An adequate analysis of consumer spending was difficult to develop not only because of the scarcity of representative statistics but also because of the reluctance of many wage earners to reveal information about their total income and spending habits. Surveys in the mid-1960s showed that the major percentage of the average budget was spent for food; other major expenditures included clothing, tobacco, beverages, heating and lighting, household items, school expenses, and payments on loans for funeral expenses or other family obligations. For the wealthier consumers, miscellaneous expenditures, half of which were for travel, increased. With increasing total expenditure, the proportion spent on clothing, beverages, tobacco, and services tends to rise, and that spent on food, rent, fuel, lighting, falls. Surveys indicate that when faced with increases in food costs, Ghanaians are more likely to reduce the amount of food consumed than to change the kinds of foods they eat.

Consumer price indexes for the early and mid-1960s showed significant variations in urban and rural costs. Transportation, communication, and fuel and lighting were higher for urban consumers; clothing and certain foods were higher for rural consumers. The cost of living in Accra, however, was actually lower than the national average, whereas the figures for Tamale, Ho, and Cape Coast were significantly higher—by 7 to 15 percent.

The differences in some costs between major urban and rural areas are linked to differences in availability of certain amenities. For example, electricity for lighting is available only in a number of urban communities. Also the need for, and daily use of, vehicular transportation is confined to the larger urban areas. On the other hand, the lower cost of living in Accra compared with that in some other towns may be partly attributed to the higher costs of transportation to the latter.

Consumer habits are changing rapidly. In the past they were dictated by local production and small-scale trading with neighboring areas but, as contact with Europeans increased, consumer tastes changed accordingly. Canned foods, soap, cosmetics, imported cloth, and imported liquor can be found in the markets, even in remote rural areas, and lend prestige to both purchaser and seller. Electrical appliances, bicycles, and automobiles are important status symbols and may be purchased on the installment plan. The attraction of imported goods and services, including the demand for education, all of which are quite expensive, is causing a considerable number to live beyond their means. The habit of saving for major expenditures is almost unknown, and moneylenders are able to charge exorbitant interest rates. After receiving payment for their produce, rural Ghanaians have often gone on seasonal purchasing sprees with little thought for long-range needs or to the potential advantages of the purchases made.

HOUSING AND SANITATION

Diverse materials and techniques are used in the construction of housing throughout the country. Mud and wattle or adobe brick walls with thatch or corrugated metal roofs contrast with modern garden apartments and bungalows. In the rural areas each family usually constructs and maintains its own dwelling, which most frequently consists of several huts arranged into a compound. The number of huts depends on the size of the family. Cooking is generally done in the yard, and one room in the compound may be reserved for washing and bathing.

Urban housing offers even greater contrasts. Economic opportunities and the attractions of city life have been drawing an ever-increasing number of workers from the rural areas. Housing construction has been unable to keep up with this flow, and the result is dire overcrowding and the rapid growth of slums. The demand for housing of any kind in urban areas is so great that landlords can charge exorbitant rents for the most primitive facilities. Although rents are theoretically subject to regulation by local authorities and an aggrieved tenant can petition to his Rent Control Committee for relief, few tenants dare to complain for fear of being evicted.

The majority of urban dwellers are tenants. Several families usually live in one house; kitchens and bathrooms must generally be shared and are usually much too small for the number of people who must use them. Consequently, families cook and bathe in the same room in which they live, in the yard, on open verandas, or sometimes even in the street. It is not uncommon for a landlord, eager to collect additional rent, to transform kitchens and bathrooms into added living space and to provide no cooking or washing facilities for his tenants. Private latrines are seldom found in any but very modern or high-income housing.

In the late 1960s running water and electricity were limited to the more modern and higher priced housing. Piped water was available in the larger towns from communal standpipes and was paid for by the consumer at a rate designed to cover maintenance costs. It was not always in adequate supply and was generally not safe to drink. Rainwater was caught on roofs by many for drinking purposes. About 43 percent of the population in 1966 was served by public water-supply systems, compared with about 30 percent in 1960. About 78 percent of these public water-supply systems were wells, and there were 175 piped supply systems in the country. Electricity is generally not adequate to meet demand. In 1966 there were about 77,800 consumers compared with about 50,000 consumers in 1960. As of 1970 much of the electricity supplied by the hydroelectric complex connected with the Akosombo Dam was furnished to industrial users.

Enclosed drainage or sewage systems had not been installed, and sewage in the larger cities was usually carried in open ditches in the streets. In the mid-1960s only Tema had a waterlane sewer system. Septic tanks were used in some of the more modern sections, but the majority of bulk waste was collected at night and buried in shallow trenches and pits at the edge of town or incinerated. Hard-surfaced streets were few and usually limited to commercial sections of urban areas and, depending on the season, most streets were characterized by dust or standing water.

Several cities having modern sections and high-income housing with modern facilities are surrounded by what constitutes suburban slums. Nima and Ashiaman, set a few miles from Accra and Tema, respectively, are typical examples of low-income urban congestion.

In 1960 Ashiaman was a village of about 2,600; by 1970 its population had grown to an estimated 30,000. About 75 percent of the men were engaged in manual labor, and 14 percent were unemployed. There were some modern structures with average facilities, many of which were constructed under the Tema Development Corporation (TDC). Many of the unpaved, often muddy roads, however, were lined with structures made of packing cases and metal roofing. Between the houses were pools of fetid water, providing breeding places for mosquitoes and disease. Housing built under the Tema Development Corporation had adequate sanitation facilities, but the rest of the city had one latrine for each 7,500 people. Water was more readily available, but most of the residents carried water from one of six standpipes or puchased it from closer and more reliable sources.

Government aid to housing construction during the 1960s was made either through financial assistance to the many building societies and cooperatives in the country or by direct financing of public projects whose units could be bought or rented. The building societies made loans to their members for land and home construction from a fund raised by conscription from members and by the sale of stock to government and insurance companies. The terms and conditions of the loans were governed by the charter of the society, and each society was strictly controlled by the Building Society Registrar provided under the Building Societies Ordinance.

Government projects were constructed and operated through the Ghana Housing Corporation, created in 1956. The corporation was a nonprofit, public agency governed by a board appointed by the minister of housing. Housing could be either rented with an option to buy or purchased with a long-term mortgage. Three different income levels were scheduled, and some subsidies were available to aid low-income workers. Corporation houses could not be sublet while being rented or for the first two years after purchase. This restriction was designed to prevent, at least temporarily, the conversion of new housing units into crowded boardinghouses or multifamily compounds.

Between 1961 and 1966 the state corporation completed the construction of 2,148 units, about 70 percent of which were built in Accra. Included in the 393 units constructed in Accra in 1966 were two supermarkets. About 50 percent of all construction between 1961 and 1966 consisted of two- and three-room units; about 15 percent were one-room units. In the first year construction emphasized one-room units, but between 1962 and 1966 only 72 one-room houses were built.

Housing facilities were also provided under the Volta River Authority, established in 1961 for the resettlement of farmers whose land was scheduled for flooding as a result of the Volta River Project. By 1968 the authority had expended an estimated N₵21.7 million. About 60 percent of this figure was for housing construction, including townsite clearing, construction, equipment, and overhead costs. Additional expenditures provided for schools, markets, streets, sanitation, and water supply systems, as well as for engineering and administrative services. Construction techniques utilized precast concrete beams, cement block walls, and corrugated metal roofs. Individual units were to be built in stages, with varying floor plans providing one room and covered areas in the first stage and additional sleeping rooms and then kitchen and bath facilities in later stages.

DIET AND NUTRITION

Estimates of the average daily caloric food intake for the late 1960s ranged from about 2,100 to 2,500 calories, the lower estimate being the more probable. About 1,800 calories of the total caloric intake consisted of carbohydrates. The staple foods were cassava (manioc), yams, millet, Guinea corn, and rice. The grains were generally dried, ground into flour, and eaten in the form of a gruel or mush. The roots were dried, boiled, and then beaten into a dough-like substance that was eaten with a highly seasoned soup or stew made from red peppers, spinach, or okra and occasionally small quantities of meat or fish. The main regular source of protein was eggs and, in certain areas, fish, but these were consumed in small quantities. Although readily available, green vegetables and fruits (except for plantain, which was another carbohydrate) were consumed in negligible quantities, as was milk. Poultry was consumed by some ethnic groups, and the Anlo, an Ewe group, shipped poultry for consumption by urban dwellers in Accra.

The country as a whole has an adequate supply of food, and food production has kept up with the expansion in population, but poor distribution, resulting from insufficient roads and a lack of storage and transport facilities, leads to periodic food shortages and high prices in the rapidly expanding urban centers. Food for the cities must often be transported from long distances because local production cannot keep up with the rapid urban expansion. Drought conditions sometimes result in serious local shortages, particularly in the northern areas. Seasonal hunger in certain northern areas results in annual mean losses of body weight from December to June of from five to ten pounds.

Although variations in dietary habits occur on the basis of location and social and economic level, the variance is relatively minor. Geographical factors dictate a higher consumption of grains in the north and of root crops in the south. People in coastal areas consume greater amounts of cereals, and those in forest areas consume greater amounts of starches. There is a slight tendency among the higher income brackets to eat higher priced and better value foods, but expenditures on food generally do not vary with income; increased income is usually spent on luxury goods rather than on more and better food. Even the educated segment of the population pays little attention to balancing meals. Men, by custom, have first right to available food, and women and children eat what remains. Children are therefore often both malnourished and undernourished.

Seasonal variations also occur. In the south the proportion of food expenditures for starches increase, and the portion for animal foods decreases between May and August. In the north food expenditures increase absolutely at harvesttime to feed the young men who return temporarily, from southern urban centers where they have migrated, to help with the harvest. The portion of food expenditures for particular items also varies with location so that coastal fishing villages, for example, spend less proportionately on animal foods than people of the interior.

Nutritional balance is a particular problem for low-income, rural immigrants in urban areas. The small income these people earn must pay for such items as rent, fuel, lighting and, in some cases, water, which they had obtained without charge in their village of origin. What meager housing accommodations they can afford, moreover, rarely provide garden plots with which to supplement their diet. Rural immigrants hesitate to change their food habits and pay high prices for millet, for example, although maize (corn) is much cheaper. When they do change their consumption habits, however, they are more likely to buy urban status foods, such as tea, soft drinks, and sugar, which have little nutritional value. Many of the male immigrants, moreover, have left their families behind and are further disadvantaged in not knowing what foods to prepare and how to prepare them.

Nutritional deficiencies are the cause of much of the poor health. The most serious nutritional problem is protein deficiency, which is the principal cause of the high infant mortality rate. Vitamin deficiency, particularly of vitamins A and C, is another problem. The lack of vitamin A probably causes much of the blindness; the lack of vitamin C is a factor contributing to the large incidence of respiratory diseases. These nutritional deficiencies occur throughout the country.

The government has for some years carried out an intensive educational campaign aimed at changing the dietary habits of the people. The campaign is part of the adult education program and is carefully planned to reach particularly the older women who cling resolutely to the old ways. The program is teaching women the nutritional values of the common foods and methods of preparing them that yield the maximum value. Special courses, organized for women of influence in the community, are given more publicity and are planned to confer prestige on the participants.

The National Food and Nutrition Board serves as an advisory agency to schools, hospitals, and other institutions on nutritional matters and does research into the nutritional values of local foods. The board has made surveys of the food habits in different parts of the country and has gathered the basic data needed for future corrective work. The board works closely with the Nutrition Unit of the Ministry of Health, whose special function is to investigate malnutrition among children. The unit operates clinics that issue food supplements to mothers and has a milk program in schools with milk donated by UNICEF and various private relief organizations.

Markets, restaurants, and slaughterhouses in larger towns were supposedly subject to rigid controls and regularly inspected by either government or municipal authorities. Supervision of cold-storage plants, carbonated-water bottling plants, and large produce plants was in force. Sanitary regulations also existed for the bottling and storage of milk, but their enforcement was suspect.

HEALTH

Neither the 1960 census nor the preliminary findings of the 1970 census included health data. Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s responsibility for various health programs shifted. As late as the mid-1960s there was no regular system for gathering medical statistics, and there was no information suggesting the development of one in 1970. Available figures were from scattered samplings and were collected mainly on a haphazard basis or were the summation of hospital records and therefore only partially reflected the total health situation.

Projections based on a United Nations formula would indicate a life expectancy of forty-eight years. In 1965 the actual expectancy fell somewhat short of this. The birth rate had been slowly increasing from about 42 per 1,000 persons in 1955 to about 50 per 1,000 persons in the late 1960s. The death rate had remained more or less constant at about 20 per 1,000 persons. Infant mortality stood at about 156 per 1,000 infants in 1965; this represented a higher figure than in 1955, probably largely the result of improved reporting.

Prevalent Diseases

Accurate statistical information on the incidence of common diseases is lacking because only a limited percentage of the sick come to the attention of medical authorities and because the system of medical recording has not been adequately developed. Headaches and stomach complaints are commonplace as indicated by the large sums spent on patent headache and stomach remedies. Although statistics indicate no change, the actual disease rate seems to be decreasing slowly as government health programs reach a degree of effectiveness. The discrepancy is caused by a growing tendency of persons to seek medical assistance and to have diseases recorded that previously were not brought to the attention of the health authorities.

Among the most common illnesses are malaria, various kinds of dysentery and parasitic diseases, yaws, several kinds of pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Leprosy, sleeping sickness, and venereal diseases also claim a large number of victims. Epidemic diseases, such as yellow fever, have been largely controlled through mass vaccination. In late 1970 cholera was reported in a number of West African countries, including Ghana. Steps were being taken to deal with the outbreak, and it was expected that vaccine could be manufactured locally. Illnesses are caused by the plethora of disease-carrying insects common throughout the tropics, particularly in the rain forest and along waterways; by the use of polluted water for bathing and drinking; by malnutrition, which causes specific disabilities and also lowers resistance to every disease; and by the low level of sanitation and personal hygiene, which creates breeding grounds for infection and disease. Every cut or skin abrasion is dangerous; a mosquito or fly bite may lead to malaria or blindness. Childbirth is a serious risk. Many diseases fatal to a European are endemic to large segments of the population and claim relatively few lives, although they weaken a person's whole system and shorten his life expectancy.

Malaria is a major killer of newborn infants, and few Ghanaians escape contracting it at an early stage of life. For most

African adults, malaria is a relatively mild disease because resistance has been either inherited or built up during childhood, but Europeans are highly susceptible and are likely to contract it in an acute and dangerous form. Poor sanitation and drainage facilities in urban areas make particularly ripe breeding grounds for mosquitoes, as do riverine areas in the north. Government efforts at control have included larval and residual spraying, drainage, and vegetation clearing. Special projects launched in the early 1960s in cooperation with WHO and UNICEF in the Volta and Northern regions experimented with the incorporation of antimalarial drugs in basic food commodities, such as salt.

The second major group of diseases includes the various kinds of dysentery and parasitic diseases, which are seldom fatal but seriously debilitating. Their high incidence reflects the low standard of public health, since most are transmitted through polluted water. Both bacillary and amoebic dysentery occur, but the relative and absolute incidence of the two forms is unknown. Hookworm infection is widespread, with reported infection ranges of 40 to 80 percent in various areas. Roundworm infection exists, and several types of tapeworm are found in the northern parts of the country. Guinea worm infection disables 10,000 persons completely and 90,000 persons partially each year in the northern areas and is the major disabling disease throughout the country. Another waterborne parasitic disease, bilharziasis, has affected about 20 percent of the population at one time or another. Its reduction was one of the particular government goals during the 1960s.

Venereal disease of all types occur, gonorrhea being the most prevalent. Since only the most severe cases register for treatment, the extent of these infections is unknown. The incidence of venereal disease in rural areas seems to be on a decline, possibly as a result of the extensive use of penicillin in the treatment of yaws.

Yaws, highly infectious sores associated with uncleanliness, are common throughout the country. A full-scale yaws campaign, with material and technical assistance from WHO, has been in progress since the late 1950s in all regions. Mobile field units roam the countryside examining and treating as many people as possible.

In the mid-1960s leprosy was widespread and afflicted an estimated 70,000 persons. Only about 30 percent of these were registered and receiving treatment. There were five leper colonies and one major treatment center. Mobile units, however, were being used to extend treatment to isolated areas. The mobile units followed a set route and schedule, providing treatment on a regular basis. Drugs for the treatment of leprosy were supplied free of charge by UNICEF. The incidence of leprosy rises gradually from south to north.

Sleeping sickness, carried by the tsetse fly, is a major problem, particularly in the central areas. About one-third of the country is infested with the fly, which breeds in the dense bush bordering bodies of water and is most prevalent in a wide belt crossing the country from the lower part of the Brong-Ahafo Region, through the Ashanti Region and parts of the Eastern Region, into the Volta Region. Sleeping sickness may be dormant in a person for many years, sapping his energy and lowering his resistance to other diseases, but when it emerges quick death is certain. The activities of the mobile field units, which treat victims in the early stages of the disease, when it is still curable, have considerably reduced the death rate.

Various methods used in the late 1960s to reduce the incidence of the disease included trapping, land clearing, chemical control, and the pruning of breeding areas, none of which was adequate by itself. The flies were proving particularly hardy and, for example, quickly moved to plants resistant to fires or to less accessible island sanctuaries. Some areas had been cleared and become fly free, and the incidence of the disease seemed to have been reduced. The ecological influence of the Volta River Project on the fly population has yet to be determined. The country was cooperating with the West African Institute for Trypanosomiasis in Nigeria in the study of control and elimination of the disease.

Tuberculosis is one of the major diseases in the country. In some areas it is almost as common as malaria, particularly among urban laborers, fishermen, and children under sixteen. The housing available to low-income groups is a fertile breeding ground for the disease. Efforts by health authorities to provide cleaner housing facilities and treat inhabitants have met resistance. No actual figures are available as to the extent of infection, but projections from the early 1960s suggest that from 8 to 12 percent of all deaths reported by government institutions are attributable to the disease. About 3 percent of the urban population is believed to be infected. Except for acute cases, tuberculosis victims are usually treated on an outpatient basis. As a result of the general availability of drugs to the public, they have been used indiscriminately for the treatment of tuberculosis, and drug-resistant strains of the bacillus are responsible for 10 percent of infections.

The incidence of blindness is high, particularly in the north. The major causes are various parasitic infections caused by contact with polluted water or carried through insect bites, trachoma and, to a lesser degree, congenital syphilis. In 1966 the incidence of blindness in the north was estimated at 3,000 per 100,000 persons. In many areas the local incidence of blindness was 10 percent or more. Over half the cases in northern Ghana are the result of river blindness (onchocerciasis). In areas where 10 percent or more of the population is blind, river blindness is the cause of 90 percent of this disability.

River blindness is caused by a parasitic worm spread by a species of black Simulium fly. The fly usually bites the lower limbs, and the infection spreads upwards, causing a toughening of the skin and the formulation of nodules under the skin. The advance of the parasites into the eyeball results in blinding lesions. People in some areas have developed a natural immunity that slows down the process before blindness occurs. A rich diet of vitamin A seems to be important in the retardation. The high incidence of river blindness in certain riverine areas had led to the abandonment of land in these areas for areas beyond the flying range of breeding grounds for the carrier flies.

Measles is a serious disease among children under five. Children usually develop far more severe symptoms and complications than are usually associated with the disease in the West. Respiratory and gastrointestinal problems as well as protein malnutrition and body wasting often follow. Major efforts were begun in 1967 to eradicate the disease by 1970 through large-scale immunization. Technical personnel and materials were being supplied by the Agency for International Development (AID) of the United States. The success of the program had not yet been determined in late 1970.

Smallpox and yellow fever, which for centuries were major killers, have now been largely controlled through mass vaccination. In 1967 a nationwide program of smallpox vaccination was included in the vaccination program for measles. Smallpox vaccinations are required by law for both children and adults. Epidemics of these diseases since World War II have been minor and infrequent.

The incidence of mental illness is about the same as in more advanced societies and covers the whole range of psychiatric disturbances. Mental illness is a problem since the facilities to care for those afflicted are inadequate.

Data was not readily available on the incidence of dental disease. A 1966 survey of 950 children between the ages of five and fourteen at the Mampong-Akwapim primary school showed that, although cavities were low, there was a high rate of periodontal disease. Only about 20 percent of the group had normal oral and dental conditions. There were few orthodontic problems of any significance. The two major causes of the high rates of periodontal disease were the use of a chewing stick for oral hygiene, which often results in a good deal of inflammation and gum recession, and nutritional imbalance. Projections for the overall population suggest that periodontal disease is common among adults and would imply heavy cavity problems for 50 percent of the people.

Traditional Treatment

In the mid-1960s it was estimated that only about 25 percent of the population, largely among the educated classes in urban areas where medical facilities were accessible, had accepted modern medicine. There was little evidence in 1970 to suggest that there had been any major change. Three-fourths of the people still rely to some extent on native doctors and ancient cures and will seek medical help only as a last resort. The undramatic and intangible nature of modern medical practices raises doubts in many minds about their efficacy. Among those who make use of the modern facilities, many insist on receiving injections, which they assume to be a cure-all.

Although the expense and inaccessibility of modern treatment are responsible for much of the continued reliance on traditional cures, the main reason is a common belief that illness and death are caused by supernatural forces, which can only be countered by other supernatural forces. Traditional medical practitioners are usually persons believed to possess magical powers, and their cures include the use of fetishes and amulets, which are carried on the person or displayed prominently in the home, and herbal potions or salves, the burning of incense. Bleeding to let out the poison is a common practice, as is rubbing herbs into an incision or inserting leaves, roots, or bark for which curative properties are claimed. Ceremonial bathing is prescribed for epilepsy, paralysis, and alcoholism. Direct applications of herbs are used to treat eye and ear problems as well as headaches. Sores, muscular complaints, and varicose veins are treated with smears from roots. Impotence is often treated with herbal potions using whiskey as a base. Other remedies exist for bronchial and venereal diseases. The infection and severe pain that may result is believed essential to the cure.

The medical value of traditional remedies varies. In many cases they are harmful and may result in severe infections and death. Bush tea, made from a wild plant growing in all parts of the country and used as a cure for numerous maladies, was found to induce a liver disease that is fatal to one-third of those stricken. A few traditional practices, however, have been shown to be useful. Most northern tribes, for instance, have long practiced a form of inoculation for smallpox through vaccination with pus from afflicted persons. In 1970 at least one Ghanaian physician had undertaken to investigate systematically the useful herbs and other remedies used by traditional practitioners.

The Ghanaian's susceptibility to the claims of magical cures makes him an excellent target for manufacturers of patent medicines. In fact, many of the traditional witch doctors or medicine men have become small-scale druggists and dispense patent medicines—sometimes even legitimate drugs—either outright or as part of their magical cures.

Native doctors generally fall into two categories—witch doctors and herbalists—but it is often difficult to distinguish them. Witch doctors rely for their cures on the supernatural and on their knowledge of the social relationships in their villages. They are usually priest-doctors occupying places of great prestige and power in the community. Herbalists dispense medications based on what they consider to be scientific theories. Their status in the community is that of a skilled technician, trained in the medicinal properties of herbs. Many of the formulas used in preparing cures are secret and are passed on only to initiated persons.

Modern Medical Services

Medical services are provided by the central government, local governments, Christian missions, and a small number of private individuals and enterprises. They fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, which is also charged with the control of dangerous drugs, quarantine, scientific research, and the professional qualification of medical personnel. Each region has a principal medical officer responsible for the administration and control of health matters in his area. The country is divided into twenty-four health districts, each under the charge of a health superintendent, who is assisted by a number of health inspectors. The superintendents are responsible to the principal medical officer of their region. A health education officer, who conducts and supervises the various health education programs, is attached to each health district. These officers are trained in public health but are not physicians.

The primary problem of the health services has been to provide sufficient facilities to serve the health needs of the inhabitants, particularly in rural areas. Precedence has been given to curative rather than preventive medicine because curative services are more easily recognized and approved by the people, whereas preventive services are slow, long-term processes seldom yielding immediate and recognizable results.

Many of the smaller health facilities in rural areas are constructed and supported by local government funds or by self-help schemes in which the local inhabitants donate funds and labor and the Ministry of Health provides the medical personnel and the equipment. Health facilities operated by missions or private organizations receive subsidies from the government to cover all or part of their operational costs. Private medical institutions are subject to government supervision under the Private Hospitals and Maternity Homes Act.

Free medical treatment is given at government institutions to civil servants and their families, paupers, war pensioners, and students at government boarding schools. In addition, such diseases as tuberculosis, yaws, and leprosy are treated free of charge. All other medical services require payment of standard fees prescribed by the Ministry of Health, a policy that, although somewhat changed during the 1960s, favors those best able to pay for medical care. This in part explains why people in the lower income groups tend to patronize herbalists and native doctors whose services are less expensive and seek modern medical aid only in extreme cases.

Facilities

Sources available in 1970 often provided conflicting information on medical facilities. The range for the mid-1960s indicated between 110 and 150 hospitals, with about 8,400 to 10,300 beds. Of these, the Ministry of Health administered 9 regional and 33 other hospitals. The remaining hospitals were administered by mining companies, mission groups, or military units. Standards varied but were generally poor except in the large hospitals accredited for nurses' training. Fees at mission hospitals were generally higher than at government hospitals. In 1970 the government showed an interest in taking over the administration of mission hospitals on a joint basis with the missionary groups, since these hospitals were in many cases the only source of medical service.

The regional distribution of hospitals was uneven, and many hospitals served large areas, requiring trips of more than one day's duration. Most hospitals had extremely active outpatient clinics, and only the most seriously ill were hospitalized. The most noticeable inadequacy of equipment was in surgery and psychiatrics. Complaints were voiced in 1970 over reported shortages in government drug supplies. The government denied such shortages but did admit to a distribution problem.

In rural areas medical needs are served by rural health centers and by mobile field units. They operate as outpatient clinics, treating routine cases and promoting health education and maternity care. They do not usually have a permanent physician but are in the charge of a registered nurse and staffed by a midwife, health inspector, and health visitor. Problem cases are referred to the nearest hospital, and specialists from that hospital visit the centers periodically. Because of the shortage of doctors, these visits are infrequent, thus limiting the curative functions of the centers to routine treatment.

The centers have had some effect in spreading health education and making the rural population aware of modern medicine. Under special campaigns the centers have aided the fight against yaws, river blindness, bilharziasis, and other endemic diseases as well as against leprosy, tuberculosis, and malaria. In the mid-1960s there were thirty-eight rural health centers, which also served areas where other health facilities were not available. Additional centers were being constructed in 1970 by the National Service Corps to help relieve congestion at regional and urban hopsitals.

In the late 1960s there were only two mental hospitals, both administered by the Ministry of Health, that provided for about 2,270 full-time patients. The larger hospital was in Accra, but its facilities were old. Only about 20 percent of those needing hospitalization could be accommodated. Plans included construction of a new hospital outside Accra.

In the mid-1960s there were only two maternity hospitals, one at Accra and the other at Ashanti-Mampong, but maternity units were attached to many of the general hospitals throughout the country. Midwives operating private maternity centers or homes of varying sizes were subject to the requirements specified in the Private Hospitals and Maternity Homes Act.

Dental services are almost nonexistent. Most of the large hospitals in urban areas have dental clinics, but only a few mobile clinics operated in the rest of the country in 1970.

Aside from curative facilities, Ghana has the Institute of Tropical Medicine and Endemic Disease, which conducts research into the local aspects of significant tropical diseases and offers special training to Ghanaian doctors, most of whom have been trained abroad, in the endemic diseases that they are likely to encounter in Ghana. The Medical Research Institute at Accra is the central pathological laboratory. It also operates a training school for laboratory technicians and runs the blood bank and the clinical laboratory at the Ghana Hospital of Korle Bu. Two other clinical laboratories are located at Sekondi and Kumasi. In the summer of 1961 the National Institute of Health and Medical Research was created by the National Research

Council to work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Health and with scientific institutes in other parts of the world. In 1968 the institute was transferred to the Ghana Medical School under the Ministry of Health.

Personnel

There is, and will continue to be for some time, a severe shortage of medical personnel of all kinds. Because of this shortage many people are often required to perform tasks far beyond their capabilities. On the other hand, many highly qualified persons must spend valuable time and effort on routine tasks, which no one else has been trained to carry out. A major cause of the shortage is the lack of secondary-school graduates and the limited training facilities for medical personnel in the country.

Projections from the late 1960s would indicate that there were less than 500 doctors in the country. The majority were concentrated in urban centers. Most were employed in the government service or by one of the mission or private medical installations. Only a few were in private practice, mainly in Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi. Less than one-half of the doctors were Ghanaian, and many of the foreign doctors were Indian.

Until the late 1960s the country had no medical school, and all advanced training was received abroad. In 1965, for example, there were 800 government-sponsored medical students in training abroad; this compared with 400 in 1960. In October 1964 the Ghana Medical School was founded as an autonomous institution but associated with the University of Ghana. After October 1967 all students wishing to follow medical preparations were no longer sent abroad but were trained at the new school. In June 1969 the first class of 37 men and 3 women was graduated.

The course of training lasts six years. It consists of a one-year premedical course, a two-year preclinical course, and a three-year clinical course. In 1969 there were 166 students enrolled in the program. There were sixty-eight full-time members on the teaching staff, and the school used the Ghana Hospital of Korle Bu in Accra for its teaching and training program.

All physicians are required to be registered and licensed by the government. Beginning in 1968, at the discretion of the Ghana Medical and Dental Board, doctors trained outside the country may be required to pass an examination before their registration. The government has been making a special effort to attract more Ghanaian doctors trained overseas back into the country, mainly through promised increased pay scales.

The Ghana Medical Association, which is a member of the International Medical Association, has been in existence since 1958.

Projections from the mid-1960s would indicate that the number of nurses in the country in 1970 did not greatly exceed 3,000. The domestic schools for nursing were at Accra and Kumasi. In 1965 there were about 700 nurses in various stages of preparation at these two institutions. The training and qualification of nurses is regulated by the Nurses Ordinance and supervised by the Nurses Board. All practicing nurses must register with the board, and only training at an approved hospital in Ghana or abroad will qualify a nurse for a license. There are two types of nurses—the state registered nurse, equivalent to the registered nurse in the United States, and the qualified registered nurse, equivalent to the American practical nurse.

Training for state registered nurses is available at two hospitals, Kumasi Central Hospital and the Ghana Hospital of Korle Bu, and generally takes four years. A secondary education is a prerequisite. Some of the graduates are sent abroad for further training either as specialists or as nursing teachers. Qualified registered nurses are trained on the apprenticeship system for four to five years. Secondary education is not required for admission, and training is offered at six government hospitals and a number of mission and private hospitals. Specialized training is received on the apprenticeship system except in the case of nurses who are trained at the mental hospital. Although general nursing is of high quality by United States standards, specialized nursing is lacking in quality. The nursing profession is open to both men and women, and about 40 percent of the nurses are male.

Midwives form an important part of the medical establishment. They must be registered with the Midwives Board, which regulates and supervises their training. The training period of eighteen months is followed by a four-week postgraduate course after registration. The number of midwives in the late 1960s probably slightly exceeded 850.

A three-year training program for pharmacists is offered at the University of Ghana, and in 1965 there were 341 pharmacists in the country. The training and licensing of pharmacists are controlled by the Pharmacy and Poisons Board of the government. The School of Hygiene in Accra trains health inspectors; laboratory technicians and other medical personnel are trained mostly as apprentices. In 1965 there were 1,200 students in training in domestic institutions as midwives, nurses, and medical technicians. There are no local facilities for the training of dentists or dental technicians, and their number is very small. In 1969 thirty-three dentists were registered, most of whom were trained in the United States. This figure was somewhat misleading, however, since some of those registered may have been out of the country either permanently or for further study.

WELFARE

Traditional Welfare Provisions

In traditional Ghanaian society welfare assistance was a function of the extended family or lineage. An individual was expected to turn to members of his family for financial aid and guidance, and the family was expected to provide for the welfare of every member. In the villages this mutual assistance still operated in the larger kinship units of lineage and clan, but in the cities it has become largely inoperative.

The urban worker has therefore developed a substitute in the form of the friendly and mutual benefit societies. These societies may be organized along tribal, lineage, or religious lines or they may be open to anyone. Their aim is to provide a sense of security and belonging in an impersonal urban setting. Members receive support from the society when they are out of work or ill, or they may receive help with the rituals involved with birth and death and the return of the family to its place of origin. The societies also provide educational and social functions, such as lectures and discussions, picnics, and dances. Funds are obtained through the payment of dues and through special fundraising events.

Throughout the 1960s legal sanction to the traditional welfare system was given by the government through its Control of Beggars and Destitutes Ordinance, which makes it mandatory for relatives to support any member of their family begging or destitute. The government also operated the Central Destitutes Infirmary at Bekwai, which provided care for persons without a family or whose family was too far away to provide effective care.

Government Welfare Activities and Provisions

Before 1965 an ordinance provided for workmen's compensation, and both civil servants and those employed in certain commercial enterprises were enrolled in pension plans; a nationwide social security system came into force in 1965. The act promulgated in 1965 provided for a provident fund scheme with lump-sum cash benefits until 1970, when conversion to a pension scheme was to take place. The scheme applied to all employees in firms with five or more workers. Casual workers were excluded, but alien workers could be covered by reciprocal agreements in effect with their home government. A special pension system was still in effect for government employees. The program was to be administered by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare in conjunction with the State Insurance Corporation.

The insured pays 5 percent of earnings; and the employer, 12.5 percent. Retirement was at age sixty for men and fifty-five for women or was payable at any age upon emigration. In case of earlier retirement or death or if the worker becomes an invalid, payment was a lump sum equal to the total employee and employer contribution since 1965, plus at least 30 percent compound interest.

Sickness and maternity compensation was also first provided in 1965 under the act and was available to all those eligible for social security coverage. Benefits were available after two years of contribution. Payments were payable only after a three-month waiting period and were deducted from the amount of the worker's credit in the provident fund. No medical benefits were provided, although some free medical care could be obtained at government health centers and hospitals.

Some work-injury compensation was first provided in 1940, and a 1963 act was in force in 1970. All employees in industrial, commercial, or agricultural production with ten or more workers were eligible. Employees whose earnings exceeded 1,500 cedis a year (equivalent of about N¢1,776), casual workers, and family laborers were excluded. The employer paid the total cost through direct provision of benefits or insurance premiums. There was no minimum qualifying period. Temporary disability brought two-thirds of earnings, with a maximum of roughtly N¢100 a month. In cases of total disability, benefits were a lump-sum payment equal to fifty-four months' earnings, with minimum benefits of more than N¢1,100 monthly. Scheduled payments for partial disability and for constant attendance supplements were listed, as were limited medical payment benefits and survivor grants.

Pensions were payable to civil servants in pensionable posts, to the military, and to teachers in the public school system upon reaching the age of forty-five or upon completing ten years of service. Pensions were also granted on medical grounds at an earlier stage. The compulsory retirement age was fifty-five for civil servants and sixty for teachers. Pension scales were set from time to time by parliament and could not exceed two-thirds of the highest salary attained. Widows and orphans of pensionable civil servants, and teachers were entitled to their pension as well as to a lump-sum gratuity if death occurred while the pensioner was still in service.

A number of contributory retirement or insurance schemes were offered on a voluntary basis both by government agencies and by several larger industrial and commercial enterprises. The employee's contributions were usually either matched or nearly matched by the employer and were made through payroll deductions. The voluntary schemes had not met with much success, and a number of enterprises had discontinued them after a trial period because the number of employees taking advantage of the plans was too small to warrant the time and expense needed to administer them.

The Department of Social Welfare, in operation since 1946, has been at various times a part of the Ministry of Education, a ministry in its own right or, as it was in 1970, part of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. Its staff of caseworkers has been trained mainly at the School of Social Welfare or at the University of Ghana. They must have either a school certificate or a class A teaching certificate to qualify.

The concern of this agency covers a wide range of social services. Its concern for child and school welfare covers day nurseries, orphanages, youth work, parent-teacher associations, vocational training, family casework, and probation and juvenile delinquency services. Its concern with community development includes adult literacy neighborhood centers and self-help programs. It also has overseas registration, rehabilitation, and placement of disabled and handicapped persons.

In the late 1960s there were several programs in the country offering training in social service. A two-year program in social administration was offered at the University of Ghana. A diploma in physical planning was available under a three-year program at the University of Science and Technology. A nine-month program at the School of Social Welfare and Community Development in Accra offered a certificate in social welfare. Various short courses incorporating inservice training were available at the sixteen rural training centers in the country.

Initial concern with the handicapped and disabled fell to private organizations. Urbanization and the resulting concentration of people cut off from the help of their kin groups left a task too great for private groups alone. In 1960 the Rehabilitation Section was created under the then Department of Social Welfare and Community Development to attempt to register all those handicapped in the country. In 1961 the government additionally committed itself by allocating the equivalent of US$70,000 for rehabilitation of the estimated 100,000 disabled persons in the country.

In 1963 official efforts at registration had listed only 13,325 handicapped persons. Of these, 42 percent were blind, 40 percent were crippled, and about 18 percent were deaf. Of the total registered, about 15 percent were children of school age. Of these children, about 52 percent were crippled, about 32 percent were deaf, and about 16 percent were blind.

In 1965 there were four rural rehabilitation units. Difficulty was experienced initially in obtaining staffs for these units, and there were openings for 131 trainees in 1965. Training was divided into six months or more of sociological and psychological training followed by occupational training. Industrial rehabilitation was handled in Accra with forty boarding trainees and twenty day trainees. Additional training programs were provided by private organizations.

Private Welfare Activities

Apart from the friendly and mutual benefit societies, private welfare activities are largely confined to the religious organizations. They include the operation and maintenance of schools, hospitals, nurseries for children of working mothers, and recreational facilities for young and old alike. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) are particularly active among youth in the urban areas. Some private welfare agencies receive limited financial assistance from the government. All of them, however, benefit from the government-sponsored Kwame Nkrumah Trust Fund Appeal for Ghana Charities, an organization established especially to raise funds for all private charities on a nationwide scale.

Day nurseries are operated by private individuals and organizations in both urban and rural parts of the country. The government supplies capital equipment and supervision and provides training for day-nursery attendants. Since most mothers work—on the farm, in trading, or at some other job—day nurseries are very popular, and their number is rapidly increasing.

The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have a large membership and are part of the international Scout movement. The Red Cross Society, first established in Ghana in 1932 as a branch of the British Red Cross, became the Ghana Red Cross after independence in 1957. It is a member of the League of Red Cross Societies, and among other activities it operates a free milk program for Accra schoolchildren.

The Ghana Society for the Blind offers training to blind persons between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five free of charge in one of several vocational training centers. It also operates a school for blind children. Other private welfare societies included the Ghana Society for the Deaf, the Ghana Child Care Society, the Society of Friends of Lepers, the Catholic Youth Organization, and the Cripples Aid Society.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION, INFORMATION, AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

At the start of 1971 the country had a steadily widening educational base, although illiteracy still remained a serious problem. This base was capped by a growing intellectual community that was already much larger in relation to the size of the population than in other black African nations. It also had an active press that, in contrast to the period of constraint during much of the 1960s, enjoyed a freedom greater than those in most other parts of Africa. Constitutional safeguards existed to protect the independence of the mass media.

Education was compulsory beginning at the age of six years and, except for a charge for textbooks, was free through the secondary level, including the teacher-training colleges. The educational system was based on the British model. In Ghana, however, a four-year middle school was interposed between primary school and the ordinary secondary school. A further two-year period of advanced secondary studies beyond ordinary secondary school was a general prerequisite to university work.

Enrollment increased substantially between 1960 and 1970. The number of students in primary school more than doubled, and an even greater growth occurred in middle and secondary schools. Although large numbers completing primary school continued on to middle school, only about 10 percent of the students leaving middle school went to secondary school, in part because of the competitive nature of entrance examinations for a limited number of secondary school places. Expansion of secondary school facilities was a government priority in 1971.

In the late 1960s a large number of students were entering the labor market without adequate training. Efforts were underway to introduce more practical and vocational courses, but this was expected to take some time.

In part because of a relatively long history of university training in the Gold Coast, Ghana had a number of scholars of international reputation, particularly in history and the social sciences. Various scholarly societies regularly published the results of historical, economic, political, and sociological research, much of it by Ghanaians.

Group participation in music, dancing, and song was characteristic. In urban areas in particular, and to an increasing extent in rural communities, modern dance music was highly popular. Much of this was composed locally and bore the imprint of Ghanaian rhythmic styles. The most developed of the visual arts was sculpture, both traditional and modern.

An extensive oral folk literature existed, much of it characterized by poetic form. Poetry was also important in the country's modern literature. Modern formal drama was in an early stage of development in the late 1960s. An extremely popular form of drama was the comic plays put on by itinerant troupes throughout the country, which to some extent resembled the vaudeville of the United States in the early twentieth century.

The government was very directly involved in the mass media through state-owned or controlled broadcasting, television, film production, and news agency enterprises and through the publication of newspapers and periodicals. Freedom of expression as of early 1971 appeared to be generally adhered to. An indication of this atmosphere was the intention, announced in late 1970 by the editor of *Transition* magazine, formerly published in Kampala, Uganda, to restart publication in Ghana; his reason was largely based upon the government's commitment to freedom of expression.

The principal newspapers were government owned, but a small number of privately run newspapers were published, one of which—the *Pioneer*—had a long history of independence. All major newspapers were in English. Radio programs of the government net were broadcast in English and several indigenous languages (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Listeners were estimated to number about half the population. A television net of five stations covered the main population centers. The number of receivers in use at the beginning of 1971 was small but increasing. There were no apparent restrictions on access to information from foreign sources.

Motion picture theaters in all major towns and mobile units afforded an opportunity for many to see films. Annual attendance was estimated at about 12 million in the latter 1960s. Many of the films screened were American or British.

Public libraries were found in the larger towns and in some smaller communities. Mobile library units also provided some services. This combined national public library system had an estimated 800,000 volumes in 1970. A number of excellent specialized libraries were available to research workers and some other persons. Library facilities were largely nonexistent in the elementary school system but were found in varying degrees of adequacy at the secondary level of education. The University of Ghana's main library had 250,000 volumes in 1970 and excellent reader facilities.

EDUCATION

Education along Western lines was first introduced into the Gold Coast by missionaries as early as 1765. During the first half of the 1800s mission schools were established at various places, chiefly in the south in what was to become the Gold Coast Colony. In 1852 the British colonial government instituded a poll tax to help support public schools, but the measure was unpopular and was abrogated in 1861. Mission schools continued to spread, however, and by 1881 numbered 139, with about 5,000 students.

Beginning in 1882 the government took a more active part in the development of education. A board of education was set up to inspect schools and standardize their management. Grants were also established for private schools that met government standards, and regulations for recognition by the government of new schools were drawn up. The main emphasis was on primary education until the early 1900s, when limited secondary education was introduced as a result of the colonial government's decision to create a small, educated African elite.

After World War I the development of education was given additional impetus under policies formulated by the British governor, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg. These stressed the need for improved teacher training, equal opportunities for girls, a greater emphasis on vocational education, and the establishment of secondary schools with higher standards. The policies, however, were not fully implemented, particularly those concerned with secondary and vocational education. During this period, in 1927, the Achimota School was established, a first-class secondary school designed to train Ghanaians for the lower levels of the civil service. Although English remained the principal language of instruction in the school system, during this period vernacular languages were also made media of instruction in the primary schools, and the publication of textbooks in these languages was started in earnest.

Popular demand for education began increasing during the 1930s. It reached such proportions in the 1940s, stimulated by the political and economic development that occurred during and after World War II, that the combined efforts of both the government and the missions could not keep up with it. One result was the opening of hundreds of schools by local groups and individuals without proper staff and equipment. The Convention Peoples Party (CPP) promised free primary education in the 1951 election campaign for the country's first legislative assembly. This pledge apparently played no small part in the party's success at the polls (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

In 1952 the Accelerated Development Plan for Education was drawn up by the new government; this was eventually to provide an education for every child of school age. Free education, however, did not become a fact until 1961, and the provision of free textbooks began only in 1963. Subsequently, it was found necessary in the 1966/67 school year to reintroduce a charge for textbooks, which in 1969 was N₵1.5 (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary), N₵3, and N₵6 for primary, middle, and secondary schools, respectively. For the 1970/71 school year the charge for secondary schools was raised to N₵10.

The basic educational system at the beginning of 1971 comprised primary, middle, and secondary schools, technical schools, teacher training colleges, and university-level institutions. The middle schools had two main purposes: to prepare students for secondary schools, technical schools, and the teacher training colleges; and to provide a more extended period of education for those who did not qualify to enter or continue on in these second-level schools. With certain exceptions, a minimum of fifteen years of schooling was usually necessary in order to gain admittance to degree and diploma courses at the country's universities.

Although efforts were being made to modify curricula to include vocational and practical training, most course work in the elementary and secondary schools retained a bias toward traditional academic studies. There was generally strong resistance among parents and students, as well as many teachers, to a shift away from these courses, which were felt to be necessary to higher attainments in the educational field. This resistance was particularly strong in the middle schools.

A considerable disparity existed throughout the 1960s in primary and middle school enrollments between the northern and southern parts of the country, despite free education and government efforts to remove the differences. At the time of the 1960 census more than 18 percent of the children between five and fourteen years of age lived in the Northern Region and the Upper Region. In the 1963/64 school year, however, three years after the introduction of free education, the two regions accounted for only 8.1 percent of the children in primary schools and no more than 5.2 percent of the children in middle schools. Five years later, in the 1968/69 school year, the two regions accounted for 7.5 percent of all primary school students and 6.5 percent of middle school students.

For economic and other reasons, attitudes toward the value of education appear to differ in the north and the south. Children have a greater value in the labor force of the less fertile northern areas, and jobs for better educated individuals are also relatively scarcer. The greater proportion of Muslims found in the north may also be a factor because of traditional attitudes, particularly toward the education of girls (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). In the more sparsely populated areas of the north transportation problems may also play some part.

The development of secondary education was originally concentrated in the south and only slowly moved northward. The result of this was evident in the number of students in secondary schools in the Northern and Upper regions in the 1963/64 school year (the latest available data); the two regions together had only 4.4 percent of the total secondary school population in that year. The government has constructed some new secondary schools in these regions, but little change in the proportion can be assumed as of the late 1960s.

During the 1960s a greater equality of the sexes developed in primary and secondary education. In 1959 boys constituted over 65 percent of primary students, and girls constituted not quite 35 percent; middle school ratios were about 73 and 27 percent, respectively. By the 1968/69 school year the overall ratio for primary and middle schools had shifted to 58 percent for boys and 42 percent for girls; separate figures for primary and middle schools were not available. In secondary schools the ratio during this time changed from about 82 percent for boys and 18 percent for girls to about 75 and 25 percent, respectively. Girls, however, made up only a small proportion of those in higher education—about 10 percent of the total in 1967. In technical and vocational schools they made up about 24 percent but constituted more than 31 percent of students in the teacher training colleges.

The medium of instruction in primary schools varies. In some schools it is English, and a Ghanaian language is taught as a subject through the primary course. Where a Ghanaian language is used, the government considers that a gradual change to English should start in the second primary year, with the indigenous language then being treated as a subject. At all other levels of education the language of instruction is English.

Preprimary Schools

Some children between the ages of four and five attend government-controlled preprimary schools and day care centers that serve working mothers. In the 1967/68 school year 110 preprimary schools under the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports and 120 day care centers under the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare were in operation. They were found mostly in the urban areas in the southern part of the country. Enrollment in 1967 was reported to be about 13,710, of whom somewhat less than half were girls. Later data were unavailable, but both facilities and enrollment were reported to have increased condiderably as of 1970. The number of children attending preprimary schools and centers, however, constituted only a small percentage of the total number in this age group.

Primary and Middle Schools

In 1961 education was made free and compulsory from the age of six; however, the duration of the period in school was not fixed by the enabling legislation. Until the 1962/63 school year the primary school course was for six years and was followed by a four-year middle school, which was intended in part to meet the needs of students who would not continue their education. Primary and middle school studies were considered to constitute elementary education. In the 1962/63 school year an eight-year primary school program was initiated, to be followed by a two-year prevocational continuation course for those not going on to secondary school. Both of these systems were in use as of the 1970/71 school year.

Enrollment in public primary schools increased substantially after the introduction of compulsory, free education in 1961—from 441,100 in the 1960/61 school year to a peak of about 1,138,100 in the 1965/66 school year (see table 4). In the 1965/66 school year about 75 percent of the children of primary school age were in school, compared with about 40 percent in the 1960/61 school year. The number of public primary schools rose during this period from 3,514 to 7,961. A considerable drop in new enrollments occurred in the 1966/67 school year, which was possibly associated with the reintroduction of a fee for textbooks that year. New enrollments continued at a lower figure through the 1969/70 school year. To some extent, a reduction in the number of overage children entering the school system may have been a contributing factor. A comparatively

Table 4. Enrollment in Public Schools of Ghana for Selected Years, 1960-70
(in thousands)

	1960/61	1961/62	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70
Primary:								
1	106.9	231.8	274.5	272.1	221.6	214.1	200.3	205.3
2	80.9	106.6	219.2	224.7	202.1	176.8	167.5	163.0
3	72.9	89.4	197.0	203.9	195.6	182.5	162.5	155.8
4	65.9	79.5	178.0	182.6	183.5	178.4	167.8	153.0
5	59.4	70.5	109.6	156.9	166.0	164.5	162.2	154.7
6	55.1	64.0	86.9	97.9	148.2	156.2	156.1	151.7
Total	441.1	641.8	1,065.2	1,138.1	1,117.0	1,072.5	1,016.4	983.5
Middle:								
1	43.0	58.1	78.8	81.7	84.9	120.3	130.0	133.3
2	38.9	47.8	67.5	72.0	76.6	80.9	133.6	121.5
3	35.6	42.7	61.4	62.7	66.9	71.9	76.5	104.5
4	27.9	35.6	49.9	51.1	52.4	56.6	60.5	65.2
Total	145.4	184.2	257.6	267.5	280.8	329.7	400.6	424.5
Percent of middle school leavers gaining secondary Form One place*	14.1	13.4	15.8	13.4	12.4	12.4	11.0	9.3
Secondary:								
1	4.8	5.2	8.0	10.2	9.0	8.9	9.5	10.5
2	3.9	4.2	7.6	10.1	9.7	9.2	9.3	9.6
3	3.0	3.6	6.6	7.8	8.7	9.4	9.3	9.2
4	2.5	2.8	5.3	7.2	6.8	7.8	8.7	8.6
5	2.1	2.2	4.0	5.0	5.9	6.2	7.1	7.7
6 (lower and upper)	0.4	1.0	1.7	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.9
Total	16.7	19.0	33.2	42.2	42.3	43.9	46.5	48.5

* Based on average enrollment in Middle Form Two and Middle Form Three.

small number of primary students attend private schools, the latest data available showing about 14,000 in the 1966/67 school year.

Middle school enrollment increased at a higher rate than that for primary schools, evidence in part of the desire of parents for children to continue their schooling. For instance, the reintroduction of textbook fees did not appear to affect enrollment materially. Middle school students almost trebled between the 1960/61 and 1969/70 school years—from 145,300 to 424,400. A steady increase in schools also occurred; the total reached 2,346 in the 1966/67 school year, compared with 1,234 in the 1960/61 school year. Only a comparatively small number of middle school leavers gain entrance to secondary school. Those who do not go on to secondary school enter the labor market with only a very general educational background. The changeover to an eight-year primary course with an additional two years of prevocational training was designed eventually to equip these individuals to better meet the country's needs.

Secondary Education

Students for secondary schools are selected on the basis of results in the Common Entrance Examination of the West African Examination Council. Eligibility for the examination usually requires completion of at least Middle Form Two (second year in middle school). Outstanding students from certain schools, however, may take the examination on completion of Primary Class Six or Middle Form One. Opposition to admittance of students from Primary Class Six was voiced in the late 1960s by teachers who considered such students immature; about one out of seven reportedly had to repeat a class in secondary school.

The regular secondary school course is for five years. At the end of this time students take the General Certificate of Education Examination, Ordinary Level (O level). Those passing with certain grades are then qualified to enter Sixth Form, a two-year advanced secondary course that prepares them for university work. In the latter 1960s only about one out of five students in Secondary Form Five went on to Sixth Form. Some students enter teacher-training colleges and polytechnic schools. A majority, however, enter the labor market (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

One of the main purposes of secondary education is to produce middle level manpower. In an effort to improve the qualifications of secondary school leavers, the government has made a start at reorienting courses toward science and technology. The curriculum has also been expanded at some secondary schools to include courses in business, such as office practice, typing, and bookkeeping. This program is being extended gradually; for instance, in the 1970/71 school year commercial subjects were added at six secondary schools in different parts of the country.

Both the number of public secondary schools and total enrollment grew greatly between the 1960/61 and 1969/70 school years. Schools almost doubled in number from 59 to 112, and students increased almost threefold. The relative proportion of middle school leavers who entered secondary school, however, declined from a peak of 15.8 percent in the 1964/65 school year to 9.3 percent in the 1969/70 school year. The decline was in part a consequence of the vast increase in absolute numbers of middle school students.

The government considered the expansion of the secondary school system important to the economy, and in early 1970 the minister of education, culture, and sports stated that a number of existing teacher training colleges would be converted into secondary schools starting in the 1970/71 school year. It was hoped that by 1975 the proportion of middle school leavers entering the secondary schools could be restored to the mid-1965 level.

Higher Education

In 1970 higher education was available at three institutions—the University of Ghana, located principally at Legon outside Accra; the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi; and the University College of Cape Coast at Cape Coast. In 1948 the University College of the Gold Coast was founded. Before that time Ghanaians had to go overseas for higher study or seek a degree through correspondence courses from British universities. The college, which was renamed the University College of Ghana in 1957, maintained a special relationship with the University of London and granted degrees in that school's name until 1961.

On October 1, 1961, the college became the University of Ghana, an autonomous institution empowered to grant its own degrees. In the 1969/70 school year the university had six faculties, comprising agriculture, arts, law, science, social studies, and medicine, with a combined total of twenty-seven departments. In addition, there were three institutes: African studies; adult education, which conducted extramural courses; and statistical, economic, and social research. A faculty of journalism reportedly was to be established in the 1970/71 school year that would offer both degree and diploma courses. The new faculty was to absorb the government-owned Institute of Journalism in Accra.

Entrance requirements generally included passing at least five subjects in the General Certificate of Education Examination. One subject must be English, and two had to be passed on the advanced level. Degree courses for the baccalaureate were usually three or four years long, with the exception of the Ghana Medical School, which had a seven-year course. Graduate degrees were also offered, and in some departments courses leading to a diploma could be taken. About 2,500 students were enrolled in the 1969/70 school year. In 1967—the latest data available—388 degrees were granted. The Ghana Medical School awarded its first degrees in 1969 to 35 students.

The University of Science and Technology at Kumasi opened officially at the beginning of 1952 as the Kumasi College of Technology. It was founded to train the high-level scientific and technological personnel needed for the country's expanding economy. In August 1961 the school was accorded full university status and renamed Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology; after the February 1966 military coup the designation Kwame Nkrumah was dropped (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The university has a campus of about six square miles located just south of Kumasi. It is completely residential in nature, and the student body includes students from other West African countries.

In 1970 this university also had six faculties: agriculture, engineering, pharmacy, science, art, and architecture. There was also the Department of Liberal and Social Studies. Entrance requirements were similar to those of the University of Ghana. Bachelor degree courses were either three or four years in length. Diploma and postgraduate courses were also offered by some faculties. Enrollment in the 1969/70 school year numbered about 1,450. Degrees granted at the end of the 1968/69 school year totaled 242.

The University College of Cape Coast was founded in 1961. Its principal goal in 1970 was the training of teachers for secondary schools and teachers' colleges. Although essentially autonomous, it operated as of 1970 under a special relationship with the University of Ghana with respect to staff appointments, syllabuses, examinations, and the awarding of degrees. Both undergraduate and graduate degree courses were offered in education, as well as several certificates and diplomas in the educational field. About 800 students attended the college in the 1969/70 school year.

Many Ghanaians have gone overseas for higher educational studies. Statistical information on their numbers was generally unavailable; however, 3,410 were reported in 1966 to be studying under Ghanaian and foreign scholarships in various European countries, including East European countries, and in North America, India, and Australia. About 600 were reported in the Soviet Union in 1968. Most of these were expected to complete their studies in 1969 or 1970.

Teacher Training

The educational expansion initiated by the Accelerated Development Plan for Education in 1952 resulted in the introduction of a large number of unqualified teachers into the educational system. It was not until 1958 that qualified teachers again exceeded unqualified provisional and student teachers in the elementary system (primary and middle schools). The proportion of qualified teachers decreased in 1961 as teachers were hastily recruited en masse for the new free and compulsory education program. The same situation in secondary schools was avoided only by intensive recruitment of staff overseas.

During the 1960s strenuous efforts were made to correct this condition. The number of teacher training colleges was increased—from thirty-one in the 1960/61 school year to eighty-three in the 1965/66 school year. Enrollment was also raised substantially, reaching 18,500 in the 1969/70 school year compared with some 4,550 in the 1960/61 school year. As a result a record total of 5,700 teachers were graduated at the end of the 1968/69 school year. The number of teacher trainees in the 1969/70 school year roughly equaled the total of untrained teachers employed, and it was decided to cut back the number of training colleges and enrollment beginning in the 1970/71 school year, with the aim of producing only the number of teachers needed annually for new openings and normal attrition.

As of the 1969/70 school year, the teacher training colleges offered three standard courses. They included the four-year Certificate A Course and Certificate A Housecraft Course, which trained teachers for primary and middle schools. Candidates for these were recruited from Middle Form Four. The third, a two-year course, was the Certificate A Post-Secondary Course. For entrance, students required the West African School Certificate or equivalent, and graduates were qualified to teach primary or middle school.

In addition, the Specialist Teacher Training College at Winneba offered work for a diploma in such subjects as music, physical education, arts and crafts, and home economics. The advanced Teacher Training College, also at Winneba, provided further training for holders of Certificate A with two years' actual teaching experience. Those completing this work were eligible to teach in teachers colleges and secondary schools, as well as in the elementary system. The Teacher Training Institute at Mampong trained handicraft teachers for the middle schools. Another institute at Kumasi provided technical courses qualifying graduates as teachers in the technical institutes and polytechnic schools.

Technical and Vocational Education

The development of technical and vocational education has been handicapped to some extent by lack of adequate information about the country's manpower needs. As of 1970 this type of education was being provided by primary-technical schools, technical institutes, and polytechnic schools, In addition, technical courses were given at the Tarkwa School of Mines.

The primary-technical schools comprised a number of science centers in different parts of the country that furnished instruction, principally in wood and metal work and drafting, for middle school students in their areas. The technical institutes conduct two-year prevocational courses that equip students either for trade apprenticeships or for further work in the polytechnic schools.

Polytechnic schools in the 1969/70 school year were located in Accra, Kumasi, and Takoradi. They offered a variety of courses, including advanced craftwork in the building and engineering trades, catering, home economics, auto engineering, and refrigeration. Students for these schools came from among those successfully completing courses in technical institutes and also from secondary schools. Enrollment in the thirty-three different schools and institutes was reported in the 1966/67 school year to total about 7,500 students.

Specialized technical training to prepare officers for ships of the government-owned Black Star Line Limited is given at the Ghana Nautical College, located at Nungua in the Accra-Tema area. Cadets are trained as navigators in a one-year course and as engineers in a two-year course. Entrance requirements are a General Certificate of Education, Ordinary Level, with credits in specified subjects, or completion of a two-year course at a polytechnic school. Engineering cadets after completing their studies can take examinations for Part A of the United Kingdom Board of Trade 2nd Class Engineers Certificate.

The government also sponsors the specialized Ghana Institute of Languages in Accra. The school in 1970 offered both academic and professional courses in more than ten languages. Admission to the language-training course was open to persons holding a Middle School Leaving Certificate or higher qualifications. The institute also conducts special language courses for government officials and students going overseas for study or specialized training in non-English-speaking countries. In addition, language classes are offered to the general public.

The institute also operates the School of Translators, which gives a four-year diploma course designed to train professional translators as well as instruction in the techniques of language teaching. Entry to the professional course requires a General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level. Individuals with the General Certificate of Education, Ordinary Level, are also admitted but must take a year of academic work before entering the translation course. Graduates of the school work with such organizations as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Administration and Financing of Education

During the presidency of Kwame Nkrumah and until mid-1969, the administration of most state-provided services in the educational system was directly under the control of the education ministry in the central government. In an effort to involve local communities and areas more immediately in the management and control of their schools, however, a plan to give responsibility to the regional and district levels was put into effect by the National Liberation Council (NLC) as of July 1, 1969.

Since that date the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports has been mainly concerned with the establishment of broad policies and the general planning and inspection of education. As of 1970 actual administration, in particular that concerned with the financing, supervision, and inspection of primary and middle schools, was in the hands of nine regional education officers, one in each of the country's eight administrative regions and one in the Accra Capital District. Below them were district offices headed by either a senior education officer or education officer, who bore direct responsibility for the schools in his district.

A considerable number of schools were also operated by foreign missions and churches, chiefly the Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, and Roman Catholic faiths and the Salvation Army. The administration of these schools in the districts was carried out mainly by local heads of clergy, who were responsible to the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports for conducting the schools in conformity with established educational laws and regulations. The government has announced its intention to bring all of these schools into the government system;

this plan reportedly aroused a great deal of protest. The missions and churches were assured during 1970, however, that the takeover was not intended to end religious instruction but was largely for administrative reasons.

Each district education officer is advised by a district educational committee, composed of representatives of the schools in the district, the National Association of Teachers, and the ministry. Such committees are concerned basically with schools at the primary-middle-continuation level. A similar committee also advised the regional education officer. These committees, composed of representatives from each education district, the National Association of Teachers, and religious organizations that operate schools in the public education system, deal with matters relating to all schools in the region with the exception of those at the university level.

Most schools and colleges are directly managed by boards of governors, whose members represent local and religious interests. Approval by the ministry is required for board membership, and the board has a responsibility to the ministry for seeing that the school operates according to the approved plan and pertinent education legislation. The boards also appoint the school heads and administer school funds.

At the higher education level policy and planning as of 1970 were the responsibility of the National Council for Higher Education, an autonomous body. Coordination between the council and ministry was reportedly low; however, a joint committee established in mid-1970 was expected to improve the situation. The universities themselves were governed by academic boards responsible to the council; direct administration was handled by the university vice chancellor.

In accordance with the tradition of British higher education that is followed by the universities, each was divided into a number of residence halls that were largely autonomous and self-contained. Coordination among them and communication between students and university authorities were effected by the Student Representative Council.

Education is financed mainly by the central government. Important funds are also provided by the local authorities, who as of 1970 were responsible for the construction and maintenance of primary and middle schools except those in northern Ghana and parts of the Brong-Ahafo Region. In these two areas the central government provides grants covering both construction and maintenance because of local economic conditions. Government grants for maintenance and for supervisory, administrative, and clerical staff were also made to public primary and middle schools under the management of religious missions.

Other funds for education were provided by the missions and churches themselves to support their operations, and some aid was received in the form of grants from foreign governmental, nongovernmental, and international agencies. Development expenditure for technical education, for instance, was being financed as of 1970 by the Canadian government. Both the Ford Foundation and the Nuffield Foundation of Great Britain made grants to the University of Ghana in 1970.

Adult Education and Literacy

A mass literacy campaign was started in 1951 as part of an overall community development program. The primary aim was to teach adults to read and write in their own language; literacy in English was also taught. Efforts continued during the 1950s and 1960s, and as of 1970 an extensive literacy campaign was underway under the direction of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare utilizing mass education teams. Literacy classes for adults were also being conducted by local units of the Peoples' Education Association, a voluntary organization founded in 1949. This group, which included teachers, graduates, students, and interested educated persons, had 134 branches in different parts of the country as of 1968 with a total membership of 2,680.

The actual literacy rate in 1970 was uncertain; however, rough estimates placed it in the latter 1960s at about 25 percent. A gradual improvement in the rate presumably was occurring as the result of the greatly increased school enrollment that began in the early 1960s. In an effort to develop and maintain permanent literacy in the indigenous languages and English, the government was expected to institute a policy in the 1970/71 school year that would encourage children to remain in school until they were at least sixteen years old.

Education for literate adults was furnished as of 1970 through the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana. The institute had a tutorial staff resident in different parts of the country who organized courses and lectures for students in their areas. A considerable variety of courses were offered that led to external degrees of the university, the Teachers Training Certificate A, and the General Certificate of Education. Also given were professional courses, including accounting and secretarial work, leading to final certificates of recognized professional bodies. In addition, liberal arts courses having general interest and not requiring an examination were offered. These were aimed simply at giving the enrollee a broader educational background. The institute also organized adult courses for industry and for the Trade Union Congress.

MUSIC, DANCE, AND SONG

As in other black African countries, music, dance, and song are an integral part of everyday life. They are resorted to spontaneously in the course of household duties, at various types of work, and at informal social gatherings. They are also an inseparable element of the organized events connected with traditional ceremonies, rites, and festivals.

Until the 1930s almost all music, dancing, and singing was of the traditional type, characterized by ethnic variation. Since then two other music forms have become part of the nation's general musical culture: popular music, exemplified by the so-called highlife music, which developed largely from Western dance band music; and concert music and music used in the church and in such places as schools, which is also Western or based on Western music theory and techniques.

Traditional Music and Dance

Much of the country's folk music, dance, and song is performed as a group activity, both on recreational as well as formal occasions. Many of the ethnic communities, for instance, have folk dance clubs and musical organizations, formed on a voluntary participation basis, that meet regularly for the personal entertainment of the members of a group. Storytelling groups of this nature are also found, particularly among the Fante and Ga peoples, which meet for the same purpose, utilizing associated dancing, singing, and music.

Most formal events, such as the ceremony connected with the naming of a child, puberty rites, funerals, and festivals, incorporate music, singing, and dancing. These performances usually follow set patterns established by tradition and may vary considerably between different ethnic communities. In one part of a ceremony music may be played alone, with the different instruments being sounded intermittently for effect, and somewhat later the orchestra may play for a dance. In another part a singer may perform a solo, or a chorus may sing without musical accompaniment; at other times the dance will stop, and music not intended for dancing will be inserted.

There is considerable stress on singing, which offers perhaps the best opportunity for general group participation. A variety of songs and song styles is found. Some songs are utilized for social comment and criticism. Others may deal with matters of local interest or a particular topic. They are generally standardized, but accomplished singers may add new lines or make changes in existing ones. There is great interest in the words of a song, and often drumming will stop at certain points so that the words can be heard more clearly.

Dances vary considerably in different parts of the country. Among the Akan a much greater use of arm, hand, and foot movement is found than in the dances of the Ewe of the southwestern part of the country or the peoples in the northern part. In general, the dances of the north are more vigorous and athletic than those of the south. Close collaboration occurs between the dancer and the musicians; in some cases the musicians themselves may dance. In some solo dances at organized events a spectator may also briefly join in.

There is a large amount of counterplay between leaders and performers in folk music. Contrasting parts are frequently found involving the lead drummer and other drummers in an ensemble. Different sets of rhythms may be played, sometimes in a call-and-response pattern, at other times simultaneously. This also occurs in the playing of wind instruments, and in the case of stringed instruments there is alternation between instrumental and vocal parts. In singing, solo and choral response are common. This type of interplay allows the lead player or singer great leeway for improvising and for determining rhythm patterns, verse order, and the length of the particular musical or vocal number.

In contrast to the eight-note scale of the West, two scales—one of five notes, the other of seven notes—characterize most Ghanaian music. The Akan in the south and the Builsa and Konkomba in the north use a seven-note scale. Other groups in the north, including the Dagomba and Frafra, employ a five-note scale; a similar scale is also used by the Adangbe in the southeast.

The performance of folk music in the larger towns has been greatly affected by the spread of popular music. During the 1960s attempts were made to stimulate a renewed interest in folk music among townspeople, but indications were that public support was generally poor. Presumably folk music still retained a considerable hold in rural areas as of 1970, and it remained an important part of the traditional festivals. The Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana has carried out a systematic program to collect folk music and has conducted field studies on dance forms.

Musical Instruments

A considerable variety of traditional musical instruments exist, the most common ones being drums, horns, flutes, gongs, and rattles. Several kinds of stringed instruments also are found, but these are used more in the northern part of the country, as are xylophones. Most instruments are not played at will for personal pleasure but as part of informal or formal social events. An exception are the stringed instruments, which may be played at home for enjoyment. Certain instruments are reserved for use only by the musicians of a chief. Some restrictions are also traditionally placed on the playing of different instruments according to sex. For instance, women are usually not drummers and, in certain cases where they do drum, they play only specific types.

The most important instrument is the drum, which is used both for accompaniment and as a solo instrument or in a drum ensemble. The art of drumming is highly regarded and is taught in the public schools.

Of special interest are the so-called talking instruments. These consist both of drums and horns. The principal talking drum is the *atumpan,* which is hollowed out from a particular kind of tree. The open end is covered with parchment, and the drum is played with a sharply angled stick. *Atumpan* drums are used only in pairs—one known as the male, the other as the female drum, based upon tuning. Speech texts are reproduced through imitation of the sound of words by using drumming accent and punctuation. This is facilitated by the tonal nature of the Akan languages and the fact that in them a group of phrases may be expressed by a single word. Proverbs, a group's history, and other subjects may be drummed. The drummer, however, cannot deviate from the known text if he is to be understood.

Popular Music and Song

In the early 1900s development of a popular music intended essentially for ballroom-type dancing, in contrast to traditional music and dancing, began in the major towns along the coast. This music, which was inspired by Western popular dance band music, came to be known as highlife. By the 1960s highlife music was found in all parts of the country and was also played in other parts of West Africa. It still retained wide popularity as of 1970, but other styles, such as "soul" music, which were basically direct imports from the West, were also being widely played.

Popular music is played by instrumental bands, using principally Western instruments, and also by vocal bands, which are accompanied chiefly by guitars and percussion instruments. In the larger cities bands play in nightclubs, ballrooms, and cafes and at such events as weddings. In the larger towns in essentially rural areas they also are found in nightclubs and at dances, and in villages they play at local bars and village centers.

Although it employs Western forms, highlife music has the rhythmic quality of traditional music. Songs—which are always associated with this music—are sung in Ghanaian languages and are generally based on indigenous subjects. Many of the bands compose their own songs. Those by the more popular groups soon become widely known through phonograph records and radio broadcasts. Highlife and other styles of popular music cross ethnic boundaries, constituting a common musical idiom throughout the country.

THE VISUAL ARTS

Sculpture was the most significant art form in the country's traditional society and has retained this preeminence in contemporary art. Work was done in wood, ivory, and metals, including gold, silver, and brass. The best known examples of traditional sculpture were the small castings, usually of brass, made by the Ashanti for use in weighing gold. Usually less than two inches high, they were cast by the *cire perdue*. In this method the sculpture is first made in wax and then covered with clay. The wax is removed by melting, and the resulting mold is filled with molten metal. Since the clay shell must be broken to obtain the sculpture, each piece is unique.

Many of the gold weights represent human figures and animals; others show plants and a variety of inanimate objects; and some are geometrical or ornamental in design. In some cases there is a combination. The first two categories frequently have an allegorical meaning symbolizing proverbs and conceptions of life. Some representing royal regalia were presumably made also as models in case of loss or destruction of the original regalia. Most of these small figures possess a vitality and artistic charm that have made them collectors items. The origin of the weights is uncertain, but there is evidence that they had already exhibited a high degree of artistry by the seventeenth century. This artistry continued until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when production of the weights for use in the gold trade declined.

Other notable metalwork included small brass vessels (*kuduo*), boxes, and small figures that were attached to the scabbards of swords of chiefs. These were also generally cast by the *cire perdue* process. The brass vessels are often beautifully engraved, and some have lids with freestanding figurines that may resemble the gold weight figures. The vessels were used principally for storing gold dust and other valuables and also for ceremonial purposes. Other vessels and boxes were made of sheet brass, some of which were decorated in relief.

Little traditional wood sculpture or carving has artistic interest. Among those of interest, the most important are the ceremonial stools used by chiefs and other members of the royal family. Carved from a single piece of wood, the stools have a standard shape consisting of a rectangular base and a deeply concave seat connected by one or more, usually elaborately carved, supporting members. Other items of interest include the carved staffs of the chief's spokesmen, or linguists, which are topped by a symbolic figure; the tops of ceremonial umbrellas; and the small, stylized fertility dolls known as *akua ba*. These dolls have usually a large, flat, discoidal head, a long cylindrical neck and body, and stumpy arms. Facial features follow a stylized pattern of relief and incised lines.

Examples of decorative art can be found on spoons, combs, wooden plates, and gourds, which are often embellished with intricate geometric surface designs. The ceremonial regalia of chiefs also include gold ornaments that show a high degree of skill and artistry. Most of the traditional art forms still were practiced as of 1970, some as handicraft industry. The National Cultural Center in Kumasi had craft shops making traditional art work, and in various villages craftsmen were turning out items both for domestic use and for sale to tourists.

Activity in contemporary art was relatively limited as of 1970. Art was taught at the Specialist Teacher Training College at Winneba and at the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi. A number of independent art groups existed. One of the best known, called the Akwapim 6, was founded in 1954. In late 1969 this group had eighteen members, including sculptors, painters, wood engravers, potters and textile technologists. Oku Ampofo, one of the founders, was well known as a sculptor in Ghana and had achieved some prominence in Great Britain. The Ghanaian artist best known internationally in 1970 was probably the sculptor Vincent Akwete Kofi, who worked principally in wood. Kofi studied in Great Britain and the United States, and his sculptures have been exhibited in other parts of Africa and Europe.

An art form developed to a high degree among the Ashanti is the textile designs incorporated in Kente cloth. This cloth, which is not made elsewhere in Africa, has become a symbol of Ghanaian heritage and is generally worn on important social and public occasions. The cloth is made of long bands, woven from imported silk and averaging about four inches in width, that are sewn together to form a rectangular piece of material. The cloth is worn by men like a Roman toga; in the case of women, two pieces are used, one being made into a long dress and the other being employed as a shawl.

Kente designs are geometric in pattern and highly colorful, with reds, yellows and blues predominating. Each design has a name and an associated proverbial saying. Traditionally, new designs and color combinations were shown to the *asantehene* (king) of the Ashanti for his approval. Some designs were reserved for the king, and others were assigned by him to certain individuals, becoming in some cases a clan pattern, and in others indicating a particular social status. As of 1970, however, with a few exceptions, the various designs could be worn by anyone. Commercialization during the 1960s also resulted in the production of Kente bands in varying sizes and their use for other purposes than as clothing.

Adinkra, a stamp-printed cloth that is considered one of the finest examples of African cloth printing, is also part of the country's artistic heritage. In this case, cotton cloth is hand stamped with stamps cut from gourds. The color of the cloth is frequently somber, generally russet brown, although some patterns consist of black designs on white. A wide variety of designs exist, of which about fifty were in general use in 1970. In size, the designs are limited to about three inches in outer measurements because of the curvature of the gourd shells from which the stamps are made. The origin of Adinkra cloth is uncertain, but apparently it was originally reserved for use by kings. It came eventually to be used as a sign of mourning; however, as of 1970 it was employed for a variety of purposes besides mourning, and any person might wear it.

DRAMATIC ARTS

Dramatic performance was a significant feature both of organized and spontaneous events in the country's traditional society, and dramatic expression was essentially a part of social life. On ceremonial occasions the principals acted out certain roles, the audience taking a spectator position in some cases and in others acting as subsidiary participants. In storytelling, a drama was performed using narration and mime, and in many the audience participated through outbursts of simulated surprise or disbelief or actual dramatization of some part of the story. Organized dances also called for certain dramatic expression. Costumes fitting the occasion or some special stage in the drama were part of ceremonial performances. In narrative and dance dramas the performers used accessory equipment or dress needed for the story or dance theme.

Traditional drama continued to be performed as of 1970, both ceremonially and for entertainment purposes. It was found in the many festivals held during the year in different sections of the country to honor divinities, celebrate harvests, and commemorate historical and traditional state events. Locally, storytelling and traditional dancing remained popular, particularly in the rural areas.

The country's modern theater in 1970 was small and dependent chiefly upon amateur actors and government subsidies for its continuance. Theatrical performances were staged at the Arts Center in Accra and at the National Cultural Center in Kumasi. Plays and indigenous dancing performances were also put on at cultural centers in the other regional capitals. In the latter 1960s training for actors and producers was provided at the Ghana Drama Studio in Accra. This institution, part of the School of Music and Drama of the University of Ghana, occasionally produced plays. Performances of traditional dances adapted for the modern stage were also given at the Arts Center and in other centers by the Ghana Dance Ensemble, a group especially trained for this purpose. This group has toured Europe and the United States.

A highly popular form of dramatic entertainment at the beginning of the 1970s was the generally comic play staged in different parts of the country by troupes of itinerant actors. The plays consisted of a story, interspersed with songs and dancing, that usually dealt with some common social situation or individual social problems. There was a great deal of humor, and the actors—called comedians—usually dressed and made up in a way that induced laughter.

The plays were performed both on modern stages in the larger towns and in the courts of villages and compounds. Usually in the villages no curtain was used, and one corner of the court served as a dressing spot. Plays were given from memory, which allowed considerable freedom for improvisation. There was extensive audience participation; sometimes the actual performance took place in the midst of the audience. Loud applause greeted a point well taken, and members of the audience might file onto the stage during the act to present a gift of money to the actor who has just met their approval. On the other hand, individuals in the audience might loudly voice their opposition to a statement that contravened a local custom or condoned a socially generally unacceptable practice.

The players in these itinerant troupes, which were generally known as concert parties and sometimes trios, were all men, who played both the male and the female parts. This type of popular drama in Ghana appears to have originated about the end of World War I but was not widely performed until after the 1950s. In the latter 1960s there were about forty troupes touring the country. In form of presentation the plays show

Western influences, but their content is completely Ghanaian, including the songs, dances, and story topics. Although intended primarily for entertainment, they often included pungent criticism of various aspects of Ghanaian life put in a way easily understood by all parts of the population from the most remote villager to the educated elite.

FOLK AND CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

All ethnic groups have a rich tradition of oral literature consisting of poetry, myths, folk tales, and proverbs. These deal with religious and historic subjects, with nature, and with incidents of everyday life, recording important events and serving to educate the youth in the history and traditions of their society. Much of it contains a moral, or message, that is widely quoted. In essence, this literature mirrors the values of the community; at the same time it constitutes a trenchant commentary on human relations.

In addition, oral literature is used at certain times and in certain forms as a psychological release from the restrictions placed on the individual by society. Subjects treated as sacred or with great respect, such as the gods, fetishes, priests, chiefs, and the sick, may be freely abused or even ridiculed, using language that would be considered highly improper at other times. Through familiar folk tales that have animals as characters anyone can be similarly held up to thinly disguised ridicule, as long as personal names are not used and the story is declared to be only make-believe. Social protest can also be voiced in this same manner.

An important form of traditional oral literary expression still widely used at the beginning of the 1970s was the funeral dirge, common among the Akan peoples (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Dirges are usually associated directly with the funeral rites but are also employed during certain festivals. Only women sing them, usually as solos, although two or more women may alternately sing a verse.

Dirges provide an opportunity for female mourners to express their feeling freely and to honor and mourn the deceased person. The dirges of the different Akan clans and clan groups have a common structural pattern. Their styles and phrasing also appear to be largely interchangeable, usage depending mainly upon aesthetic appeal.

Dirges are relatively short and coherent; allusion is an integral part, and figurative expressions are occasionally used. Their themes revolve around the ancestor and lineage of the deceased, the deceased himself, and the place of residence of the ancestor and the deceased. The singer may also include reflections on her own situation resulting from the death or messages either for the dead or the living.

Dirges exist structurally and textually in generally finished form, but individuality is possible in the style of singing as well as in variation of phraseology and themes. Original expressions may also be substituted for traditional ones within the accepted framework. The circumstances surrounding the use of dirges and the emotions of the singer require a certain degree of artistic sense to keep the dirge from becoming largely a series of disconnected statements. Training in dirge singing was formerly a regular part of the education of girls; however, many younger girls in the 1960s, particularly in urban areas, no longer possessed the ability to sing them well.

Oral poetry was particularly highly developed in traditional society. Verse was recited, sung, or drummed; long historic epics were more common among the northern peoples, and shorter poems were more usual in the south. The importance attributed to poetry as an art form has carried over into contemporary literature, with poets holding a generally predominant position among the country's writers during the 1960s.

In early 1971 the best known poet was perhaps Albert Kayter-Mensah. Other poets of note included G. Awoonor-Williams, some of whose poems bore the conscious imprint of traditional oral poetry; M. Dei-Anang; and Frank Kobina Parkes, who was a short story writer as well as poet. Both Dei-Anang and Parkes in their poetry appear to a degree to be expounding a philosophy similar to the negritude of the French-language West African writers. Dei-Anang also in some of his work tends to hark back to the halcyon days of the Africa of old.

A comparatively smaller amount of fiction has been produced, and novels in the 1960s had not attained the critical standing accorded some written in other English-speaking West African countries. Among recognized novelists at the start of 1971 were Samuel Asare Konadu, Cameron Duodu, and Ayikwei Armah. Two of Armah's novels were published in the United States—*The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born,* in 1968, and *Fragments,* in 1970. Some drama was also being written; Efua Morgue Sutherland was well known in this field.

SCHOLARSHIP AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY

Until the 1950s the country's intellectual community consisted largely of expatriates and a small number of Ghanaians who had studied overseas. The first institution of higher education in the country was founded in 1948, followed by a second in 1951, and a third in 1962. During the 1950s and 1960s a gradually increasing number of graduates was turned out, augmented to some extent by the return of others educated overseas. It was estimated that by the beginning of 1971 more than 15,000 persons possessed degrees. The total degree holders proportionate to the country's population at that time was far greater than in any other black African country.

Most of the country's practical research was being carried out as of 1970 under the national Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), a statutory corporation subsidized through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. This organization was set up in 1968, but its general concepts date back to the National Research Council of Ghana, founded in 1959 and subsequently merged in 1963 with the Ghana Academy of Learning. The main purposes of CSIR were the encouragement of scientific and industrial research significant to the country's development and control over the research activities of a number of attached research institutes and units.

As of 1969 nine such CSIR institutes were in operation, concerned with research on animals and aquatic biology (at Achimota); cocoa (at Tafo); crops, soil, forest products, and building and roads (all at Kumasi); and foods, standards, and industrial research (at Accra). In addition, a unit conducting research on water resources was located at Accra. Other research was underway at the University of Ghana, including the Institute of African Studies and the Institute of Statistical, Social, and Economic Research, and at agricultural research stations at Kade, Kpong, and Nungua. Some research in such fields as culture and history was also conducted individually outside the country's universities and by such organizations as the Arts Council of Ghana and the Museum and Monuments Board.

Some fifteen to twenty learned and professional organizations were in existence in 1970, most of them founded during the 1950s. Included was the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, established originally in 1959 as the Ghana Academy of Learning. This society had the general aim of promoting the study, extension, and dissemination of knowledge of the arts and sciences. Affiliated with it was the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat, set up in 1962 to coordinate the production of an encyclopaedia of African life and history. As of 1969, committees working on the project under the secretariat represented some twenty-eight African countries.

A number of journals and professional publications appeared regularly, including the proceedings of the academy and various publications of CSIR and its attached research institutes. Several scholarly publications were also issued by the country's universities and by other organizations, such as the Economic Society of Ghana and the Historical Society of Ghana. These provided opportunities for persons in the intellectual community to publish the results of their research. Ghanaian materials have also been published in international journals, and a number of persons have achieved international repute, including K. A. Busia, sociologist; E. A. Boateng, geographer; J. K. Nketia, specialist in the arts; and Adu Boahen, historian.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

Article 22 of the country's new Constitution adopted in August 1969 guaranteed freedom of expression, including the receiving and imparting of information without interference. Moreover, under the terms of the article, equal opportunities and facilities for the presentation of opposing or differing views were to be afforded by any national medium for the dissemination of any kind of information to the public. As a safeguard, Article 48 empowered the president, in consultation with the Council of State, to appoint the chairman and other members of the governing body of any statutory corporation concerned with radio, television, the press, or other media for mass communication or information.

The generally uninhibited nature of news reporting in the press after the overthrow of the Nkrumah government in 1966 was followed by promulgation by the National Liberation Council in late 1966 of decrees concerned with the spreading and publication of rumors. In January 1968 the Press Council was established, essentially for the maintenance of press standards. The council was independent of government control and concerned not only with complaints against the press and journalists but also with complaints by the information media against the conduct of individuals and organizations toward the press.

In April 1968 the National Liberation Council apparently considered the presentation and general tone of the press considerably improved and rescinded the 1966 decrees. Further liberalization of the government's position toward the press occurred in early 1970, when the National Assembly repealed the newspaper licensing act of 1963. This act, passed during the Nkrumah period, was considered a device of the former president for controlling press activities.

Newspapers at the end of the 1960s were faced with considerable economic problems, in part related to the size of the literate public and circulation. For instance, the *Evening News,* which had been published since 1955, ceased publication at the beginning of 1969 reportedly because of poor circulation and lack of advertising. The *New Ashanti Times,* published since

1948 by the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, stopped printing at the end of January 1970 partly because of heavy losses also connected with circulation. The risks involved at the beginning of the 1970s made the start of privately financed newspapers difficult. With few exceptions, the field was left largely to government-owned newspapers.

Newspapers

Three English-language dailies were published in Accra in 1970 (see table 5). Two of them, the *Daily Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times*, were government owned. The *Evening Standard*, the third newspaper, was privately published and supported the opposition party (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values). A fourth daily, the privately owned *Pioneer*, was published in Kumasi. The *Pioneer* had been suppressed between 1962 and the military coup in 1966. The *Daily Graphic* had a reported daily circulation in 1970 of about 121,000; the *Ghanaian Times*, about 57,000. The circulation figures for the *Evening Standard* and *Pioneer* were not available.

About a dozen weeklies were also published. The largest was the *Sunday Mirror*, the Sunday edition of the *Daily Graphic*, that had a circulation in 1970 of about 103,000. Also published weekly was the *Spokesman*, a periodical highly critical of the government. Several of the weeklies were specialized publications, including the *Radio and TV Times*, issued by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation; *India News*, published by the Indian High Commission; and *Business Weekly*.

The *Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Times*, and *Sunday Mirror* were published in tabloid format; the *Pioneer*, in standard newspaper format. The *Daily Graphic* ran to sixteen pages and contained a variety of features. Page 1 carried mostly domestic news, with the more important foreign news on page 2. The two center pages usually contained special feature stories, and two pages, 14 and 15, were regularly devoted to sports. Regular features also were a classified advertising section, a horoscope, letters to the editor, and two comic strips. The *Sunday Mirror* also was made up of sixteen pages. It carried fewer general news items but included a review of the week's foreign news. The center two pages were frequently devoted to women's features. Sports also received considerable space, and a horoscope was given.

Periodicals

Some forty different periodicals were published within the country in 1970, most of them in English. Eight periodicals were published twice monthly, including six in various Gha-

Table 5. *Newspapers and Periodicals Published in Ghana, 1970*

Name of publication	Language	Place of publication	Estimated circulation	Comments
DAILY:				
Daily Graphic	English	Accra	120,900	Government controlled.
Evening Standard	do.	do.	n.a.	Opposition newspaper.
Ghanaian Times	do.	do.	57,000	Government controlled.
Pioneer	do.	Kumasi	n.a.	Independent.
WEEKLY:				
Business Weekly	English	Accra	5,000	. . .
Echo	do.	do.	12,000	. . .
Herald	do.	do.	n.a.	Independent; began publication April 1969.
India News	do.	do.	do.	Indian High Commission publication.
Northern Review	do.	Tamale	do.	Ministry of Information publication.
Press Week	do.	Accra	do.	Government owned.
Radio and TV Times	do.	do.	20,000	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation publication.
Standard	do.	Cape Coast	7,500	Catholic newspaper.
Sunday Mirror	do.	Accra	102,800	*Daily Graphic* Sunday edition.
Sunday Star	do.	do.	n.a.	. . .
Weekly Spectator	do.	do.	14,000	Sunday edition of the *Ghanaian Times*.
Spokesman	do.	do.	n.a.	Opposition party newspaper.
TWICE MONTHLY:				
Akwansosem	Akuapem-Twi	Accra	n.a.	Ministry of Information publication.
Ghana World	English	do.	do.	. . .
Kakyevole	Nzema	do.	10,500	Ministry of Information publication.
Legon Observer	English	Legon	11,000	Independent political journal.
Mansralo	Ga	Accra	n.a.	Ministry of Information publication.
Motabiala	Ewe	do.	do.	Do.

Nkwantabisa	Ashanti-Twi	. .do. .	. .do. .	Do.
Nkwantabisa	Fante	. .do. .	. .do. .	Do.
MONTHLY:				
African Woman	English	Accra	n.a.	. . .
Catholic Voice	.do. .	Cape Coast	3,600	Publication of Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Coast.
Chamber of Commerce Newsletter	.do. .	Accra	n.a.	. . .
Christian Messenger	English-Twi	. .do. .	20,000	. . .
Christian Messenger	English-Ga-Ewe.	.do. .		. . .
Drum	English	. .do. .	42,700	Popular magazine.
Ghana Journal of Education	.do. .	Saltpond	16,000	Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports publication
Ghana Monthly Trade Journal	.do. .	Accra	6,000	. . .
Kasem Labaare	Kasena	Tamale	n.a.	Ministry of Information publication.
Lahabale Tsusu	Dagbane	Accra	. .do. .	Do.
What's on in Ghana	English	. .do. .	. .do. .	. . .
EVERY TWO MONTHS:				
New Ghana	.do. .	. .do. .	n.a.	Ministry of Education; for overseas distribution.
QUARTERLY:				
Economic Bulletin of Ghana	.do. .	Legon	n.a.	Economic Society of Ghana publication.
Ghana Armed Forces Magazine	.do. .	Accra	. .do. .	. . .
Ghana Journal of Science	.do. .	Legon	. .do. .	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.
Ghana Medical Journal	.do. .	Accra	600	Ghana Medical Association publication.
Ghana Review	.do. .	. .do. .	10,000	Ministry of Information publication.
OKYEAME	.do. .	. .do. .	n.a.	Ghana Society of Writers publication.

n.a. — not available.

naian languages put out by the Bureau of Ghana Languages of the Ministry of Information. Also published twice monthly was the English-language *Legon Observer*. Put out by the Legon Society on National Affairs, it was an independent political journal that in general had a relatively unbiased approach toward national political issues (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

Drum magazine, a monthly with an estimated circulation of about 42,700, was the most widely read domestic periodical. *Flamingo Magazine*, published in Great Britain and distributed throughout West Africa, had the largest circulation, however, with a total estimated at 100,000 copies a month. This magazine was a family publication of the glossy type containing articles on entertainment, sports, general-interest news, and history, as well as features for women. The Ministry of Information published a number of monthly magazines. One—the *New Ghana*—was designed primarily for distribution overseas by the embassies.

News Gathering

The principal news collecting and disseminating agency, at the start of 1971, was the Ghana News Agency Corporation, a state-owned enterprise established in 1957 and incorporated in 1960. It constituted a full-fledged national news operation and had also established international contacts. Its head office in Accra was connected by teleprinter with branches throughout the country, including Cape Coast, Koforidua, Kumasi, Takoradi, and Tamale. It also had teleprinter circuits to newspaper subscribers to its services and to Radio Ghana. Additionally, it maintained news bureaus in London and New York. The agency's operations were described in 1970 as professional and highly effective. At the end of the 1960s the corporation was receiving about N₵500,000 annually in government subsidies to help support its operation.

Several foreign news agencies maintained bureaus in Accra in 1970, including the Agence France-Presse, Associated Press, Ceskoslovenska Tiskova Kancelar, and Reuters. The Deutsche Presse-Agentur and Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovietskovo Soyuza (TASS) also were represented. Various other foreign newspapers and news agencies obtained special coverage through local correspondents. Until the military coup in 1966 the government censored outgoing press messages, and a number of foreign correspondents were banned. Censorship was lifted, and the ban was revoked by the National Liberation Council at the beginning of September 1966.

Radio and Television

The country's first broadcasting services were established by the British colonial government before World War II. Expansion into a national system began in the 1950s, and external services were added in 1961. The system in 1970 was operated by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, an autonomous statutory body. During the presidency of Nkrumah the corporation was autonomous in name only; policy was set by the president, and all senior staff appointments were made by his information minister. A reorganization of the governing board, giving it greater independence, took place in 1968. This step was aimed principally at eliminating politics and partisanship from the broadcasting field.

As of 1970 broadcasts, including domestic and international programs, were made over sixteen frequencies, all in the shortwave range (see table 6). Transmitters were located at Accra,

Table 6. Radio Stations in Ghana, 1970

Location	Frequency (kilohertz)*	Peak power (kilowatts)	Type of service
Ejura............	3350	20	Domestic.
Accra...........	3366	10	Domestic commercial.
	4915	10	Domestic.
Ejura............	4980	20	Not identified.
Tema............	6070	100	External. In French and Hausa to West Africa.
	6130	100	External. In English to West Africa.
Accra...........	7295	100	Not identified.
Tema............	9545	100	External. In English and French to Europe.
	9640	100	Domestic.
Ejura............	9760	250	External. In English to North America.
	11800	250	External. In French to Central Africa.
	11850	250	External. In English to North America.
	15285	250	External. In English to East Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Europe; in Swahili to East Africa.
	17870	250	External. In English to the Sudan, Ethiopia, and South Africa.
Tema............	21545	100	External. In Arabic to North Africa; in English to Central Africa; in Portuguese to Angola.
Ejura............	21720	250	External. In English and Swahili to East Africa.

*One kilohertz equals 1 kilocycle, or 1,000 cycles per second.

Source: Adapted from *World Radio-TV Handbook, 1971* (J. M. Frost, ed.), Soliljevej, Denmark, 1971.

Tema, and Ejura (in northern Ashanti Region). A frequency modulation rediffusion service composed of about forty relay stations was also in operation, with some 50,000 subscribers in the urban areas. An additional ten to twenty stations were to be constructed in 1971 and 1972, and relay services were to be extended to rural areas.

As of late 1970 two parallel domestic national service programs were being broadcast—one in English and the other in various Ghanaian languages, principally Twi-Fante, Ewe, Ga, and Nzema to the southern part of the country and Dagbane to the north; broadcasts in Hausa also formed a part of regular daily programs (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Each program totaled about 100 hours a week. In addition, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation had the School Broadcasting Section, which transmitted special programs to primary, middle, and secondary schools and the teacher-training colleges during the school term.

Another parallel domestic program, a commercial service, which began in early 1967, broadcast close to 100 hours a week. Advertising, which was introduced with the commercial service in 1967, was also a standard part of the national service as well in 1971. News was broadcast six times daily and seven times on Sunday in English and six times a day throughout the week in Ghanaian languages.

At the beginning of 1971 broadcasts in the external services were directed to all parts of Africa, Europe, and North America. Transmission was for about 110 hours a week. About 50 percent of this was in English, including ten daily news broadcasts in English. News was also broadcast in French four times a day, twice in Swahili, and once each in Arabic, Hausa, and Portuguese.

The number of radio receivers increased almost sevenfold from an estimated 109,000 in 1960 to 703,000 in 1971. The 1971 estimate represented 1 set for about every 12 persons in the population, a much greater proportion than in most other West African countries. The demand for receivers was reported growing and was being met by the domestic assembly of transistor sets utilizing imported parts. At the beginning of 1970 such sets were selling for about N¢31 each. Radio listeners in 1970 were estimated at some 4 million persons.

Television was introduced in 1965, and in 1970 four stations were in operation serving the Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, and Tamale areas. A relay station also carried the programs from Tamale to Ho. Telecasts were generally limited to the evening hours, except for a school program that was given in the morning. Many of the regular programs consisted of rebroadcasts of foreign material. The television section of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation announced in 1970 that it intended to introduce more locally produced programs, which it felt would suit the viewing public better. Advertising has been a part of programming since early 1967.

The number of television receivers increased greatly during the late 1960s but totaled only an estimated 16,000 sets at the beginning of 1971. There were between 80,000 and 100,000 viewers in 1971. Many of the sets were owned by government officials, businessmen, and also resident foreigners. Receivers were assembled locally from imported parts.

Films

In 1971 there were more than 100 motion picture theaters throughout the country with a total seating capacity of some 80,000 persons. About 50 mobile cinema units were operated by the Ghana Information Service of the Ministry of Information and by the British Council. Most of the fixed theaters had 35-mm projectors; the remainder used 16-mm projectors. Annual attendance in the late 1960s was estimated at about 12 million.

A state-owned and subsidized enterprise, the Ghana Film Industry Corporation, produced documentaries, short films on various subjects, and a considerable number of newsreels. Generally, the documentaries were sent to Ghanaian embassies overseas for informational use. Other film production was primarily for domestic consumption. Full-length films shown in local theaters were imported. A majority of them came from the United States; the United Kingdom was the other important source.

The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation announced in late 1970 that it would produce a series of documentary films in Accra in conjunction with the Friederich-Ebert Foundation of West Germany. The films, on African life and situations, were intended for use in the training of young people in the developing countries. The project was to run for three years.

Books and Publishers

Publishing houses of major importance in 1970 included the private Anowuo Educational Publishers, founded by the novelist Samuel Asare Konadu in 1966. This firm published educational books, novels, and poetry in English and in the principal indigenous languages, putting out about thirty titles a year. Its main output was paperback editions intended for the do-

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mestic market. These included such items as cookbooks, fiction, and collections of traditional proverbs and folk tales.

Another private publishing firm, Moxon Paperbacks Limited, was founded in 1967 by a former minister of information. Its publications have included crime novelettes, novels, poetry, handbooks, and travel and guide books. In 1970 it published the first in a series of informative handbooks on Ghana for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

State-owned publishing concerns in operation in early 1971 included the Ghana Publishing Corporation, originally established in 1965 as the State Publishing Corporation, which printed chiefly primary school textbooks. It also published various government reports, some academic titles, and some children's books. The corporation had printing divisions in Accra, Takoradi, and Tamale. Another state-owned enterprise, Ghana Universities Press, established in 1962, published principally academic works from the higher educational institutions.

In fall 1969 the Central Bureau of Statistics published a directory showing over sixty printing establishments throughout the country. The type of work done was not specified. Presumably, however, some of them published pamphlets, various types of books, and other informational materials. Such firms as the Catholic Mission Press in Cape Coast and the Presbyterian Press in Accra published religious texts.

In 1968, 374 books were published, a considerable increase over the 233 published in 1967. Social science titles accounted for more than two-fifths, with books on general subjects, pure and applied sciences, and the arts making up most of the remainder. A majority of titles have been in English. Of the 233 titles in 1967, 200 were in English, 28 were in indigenous languages, and 5 were in two or more languages. A considerable number of books and pamphlets are imported, including paperbacks, textbooks, encyclopaedias, and technical books. Imports in 1967 were valued at almost N¢2.9 million.

Libraries

The public library system functions under the direction of the Ghana Library Board, a statutory corporation established in 1950. In the latter 1960s the system included a large central library and three children's libraries in Accra and regional libraries at Bolgatanga, Ho, Kumasi, Sekondi, and Tamale. Over a dozen branch libraries were located in other larger towns, and there were a number of library centers in smaller towns that were run by volunteers. A mobile library service based on the regional libraries furnished book boxes to schools, community centers, local organizations, and individuals. The board also provided a library service to the country's prisons.

Public libraries in 1966 had over 677,000 volumes, more than double the 305,000 volumes recorded in 1960. During the mid-1960s the number of new acquisitions totaled about 30,000 to 40,000 annually. Registered borrowers in 1966 numbered over 103,000, and more than 720,000 books were issued that year for home reading. Financing of the system was principally from government funds. Local authorities in whose areas libraries were located also furnished some assistance through small grants-in-aid.

Some twenty separate special libraries were in existence in 1970. These included the generally extensive collections at the various research institutes attached to CSIR; the libraries of some ministries, such as agriculture; the Scientific Library of the Geological Survey; and the Library of the Institute of Public Administration. Use of these libraries was generally restricted to the scientific community, staff members, and certain students.

Other special libraries, all in Accra, were the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs (under the Ghana Library Board), open to scholars, students, and interested persons; the libraries of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Regional Center and the United Nations Information Center, both open to the public; and the UNESCO Regional Center for Education in Africa Library, which provided services to teachers throughout Africa. The British Council operated libraries in Accra, Cape Coast, and Kumasi that were open to the public, and the United States Information Service maintained one in Accra, also open to the general public.

Few of the country's elementary schools were reported to have a library in 1970. A survey conducted by the Ghana Library Board in 1968 showed secondary schools and teacher-training colleges to have libraries of varying size. In some cases, volumes numbered several thousand, but in many schools the number was less than 1,500. Library facilities were also found to be inadequate in many; the libraries were generally operated by nonprofessional staff; and books could not be taken home.

The Balme Library of the University of Ghana has an excellent collection, which totaled 240,000 volumes in 1970. The library can accommodate 400 readers at one time. Use of the library is generally limited to staff, students, and graduates, although other persons may be admitted by the librarian. Borrowing is permitted, but loans are made usually only to staff, students, and graduates-in-residence who live in Legon or Achimota. The University of Science and Technology at Kumasi at the end of the 1960s had about 60,000 volumes in its main library. Most of these were available for loan to the staff and student body.

FOREIGN INFORMATION ACTIVITIES

At the start of 1971 foreign information was freely available to the general public. British magazines and newspapers were sold at newsstands, as were the European editions of such United States publications as *Time*, *Life* and *Newsweek*. Foreign information was also readily accessible at the United States Information Service library in Accra and at the libraries of the British Council in Accra, Cape Coast, and Kumasi. Periodicals and informational pamphlets and materials were distributed by or available at different embassies. Local newspapers also regularly carried foreign news considered of interest.

Both the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Voice of America (VOA) carried on extensive programs in English aimed at Africa that could be easily received in Ghana. BBC broadcasts approximated 19 hours a day, and those of VOA were about 12 hours. France, Portugal, Sweden, and West Germany also had regular broadcasts in English to West Africa, and between ½ hour and 2 hours of English-language programs were daily beamed to Africa by the Communist nations. In late 1970 Communist China reportedly was broadcasting at least 2 hours a day in English to the African continent. Reception of stations in the Ivory Coast and Nigeria was reported good.

POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Communication services were provided by the government through the Posts and Telegraph Administration in the Ministry of Transport and Communications. In early 1970 there were about 54,800 telephone connections operated through 412 manual and 13 automatic exchanges in different parts of the country. The 13 automatic exchanges were hooked up by trunklines, which allowed automatic dialing between the more important towns. Public telephones were largely nonexistent, although some service was available at post offices. A five-year program covering the 1971–75 period that would add about 27,000 new connections in the Accra-Tema area has been proposed.

Long-distance facilities in 1970 were furnished partly by microwave and very high frequency (VHF) radio and partly by open wire. The quality of service was not always satisfactory. A survey of existing equipment in the late 1960s indicated rehabilitation of this system to be desirable. International services were available in 1970 to all parts of the world via high-frequency radio; service to places outside Africa was handled through London.

Postal services have been gradually expanded, and in 1969 there were 187 post offices and 673 postal agencies in operation throughout the country. More than 184.5 million postal items were handled in 1969. In early 1970 the Accra central post office was handling an average of 314,000 letters and parcels a day, which constituted more than half of the national daily total. Mail was moved by train, bus, and mail vans. Letters for the Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Northern, and Upper regions were sent by air daily to Kumasi, where they were forwarded by mail trucks and vans.

CHAPTER 8

THE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, put into effect on August 22, 1969, provides the basic charter for the country's second attempt at republican government since its independence in 1957. The intervening years saw a variety of governmental forms through which the affairs of state were conducted. Independence was followed by the swift development of personalized rule by the country's first president, Kwame Nkrumah (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). His overthrow by the nation's military and police forces in 1966 left the affairs of state in the hands of a military government for three and one-half years. After the formulation of the vastly changed new Constitution, the nation returned to civilian administration in October 1969.

The new Constitution declares the country to be a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people. Carefully drawn and dedicated to the prevention of dictatorial government in the future, the document reflects many features of British and United States governmental institutions. It provides for a sharing of powers between a president, a prime minister, a parliamentary legislature, and a separate judiciary. Through its careful system of checks and balances, the Constitution refrains from bestowing preponderant power in any of the various branches. Executive authority is shared by the president, the prime minister as chairman of the cabinet, the Council of State, and numerous advisory bodies. Although executive acts are made in the name of the president, the prime minister, elected by the legislature for a nominal term of five years, is the actual head of government.

The legislative functions of government are vested in the parliament, defined as the president and the unicameral National Assembly. Legislation is introduced in the National Assembly by its members. To become a law a bill must have the assent of the president, who has a qualified veto over all measures except those to which a note of urgency is assigned. The legislature is elected popularly for a term of five years, but it must be dissolved if the National Assembly casts a vote of "no confidence" in the government. The greatest element of national power is shared by the legislature and the prime minister.

The judiciary's structure and authority are strongly independent of all other branches of the government. The Supreme Court has broad powers of judicial review and rules on the constitutionality of any legislative or executive action at the request of any aggrieved citizen. The hierarchy of courts, derived largely from British juridical forms, has jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters that arise in the course of interpreting and applying the nation's laws. The legal system is based on the Constitution, Ghanaian Common law, statutory enactments, and assimilated features of traditional customary law. The National House of Chiefs, without executive or legislative power, advises on all matters affecting the country's traditional leaders and on customary law.

For administrative purposes the country is divided into eight regions, forty-seven districts, and hundreds of local units that include cities, municipalities, and sparsely populated rural areas. Essentially the Republic has a centralized governmental structure, and the level of local government services is largely dependent on funds and personnel provided by the national government in Accra. Since the return to civilian rule, however, local government has gradually benefited from a move to decentralize the number of central governmental responsibilities to local levels.

A comprehensive civil service, modeled after the British system, provides personnel experience and technical ability at all working levels of government. Throughout the years of drastic change in the governmental system, the various elements of the public services have assured operational continuity from one form to the next.

In addition to the checks and balances imposed upon the governmental structure, the Constitution provides an entrenched guarantee of fundamental human rights for all Ghanaian citizens. To provide further safeguards, various new agencies with protective functions have come into being. The ombudsman—whose office is borrowed from a Swedish concept —is empowered to investigate public complaints against government agencies and the armed forces. He has authority to make recommendations to the ministries and to report to the president if the ministries fail to act on his advice. An auditor general reviews the manner in which public funds are spent. The electoral system has been reformed to protect the people's right to be represented by legitimately elected public officials.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

For nearly a century before World War II the British controlled the Gold Coast Colony and confined its political development to the measured increase of representation for the tribal chiefs and the growing number of educated Africans (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). After World War II the British moved more rapidly to train Africans to assume the responsibilities of self-government and thus laid the groundwork for independence and the peaceful transfer of political power in 1957. In this process a number of British institutions, such as the advisory representative councils and the courts, were adopted and remained basic in the constitutional system of independent Ghana.

The Nkrumah Era

The independence Constitution of 1957 recognized the British queen as sovereign, but it provided a parliamentary form of government for the new state of Ghana with real power vested in a Ghanaian prime minister and the unicameral National Assembly of 104 members elected directly by universal adult suffrage. The document was largely the result of a three-way compromise between Prime Minister Nkrumah, the parliamentary opposition, and the British. Nonetheless, the constitution was generally considered to be satisfactory, not only by countries with a long parliamentary history but also by the Ghanaian opposition, whose members maintained they had seen to it that freedom and liberty were safeguarded.

Nkrumah later asserted that the independence constitution was in fact enacted by the United Kingdom and that the people of Ghana should devise for themselves a new one, precisely suited to their own needs and not based essentially on an alien model. He soon set about working for eventual transformation of the governmental system into a republic with more centralized power and with himself as president. Two major amendments were made to the 1957 Constitution. One simplified the amending procedure; the other consolidated power within the central government and gave the prime minister more control over appointments of civil servants and members of the judiciary. Concurrently, Nkrumah's predominant Convention People Party (CPP) began a continuing process of weakening the parliamentary opposition.

On March 6, 1960, Nkrumah made a nationwide broadcast from Accra, explaining his government's plans for a republic and a new constitution. An English-language government white paper containing the draft constitution was published, and the National Assembly debated the first two steps in the forthcoming procedure, agreeing on a national plebiscite and their own brief transformation into a constituent assembly. In the election the republican proposal and Nkrumah's bid for the presidency both won overwhelming voter approval.

In June, after organizations throughout the country had had a chance to submit their views, the National Assembly convened as a constituent assembly to consider the articles in detail and approve a final draft. The final version closely resembled that on which the people had voted, except for a new section granting extraordinary powers to the first president.

The 1960 Constitution declared Ghana to be a unitary republic in which the sovereign people conferred certain powers on the constitutionally established governmental institutions. It specified a number of basic principles that could not be altered or repealed except by the will of the majority of the citizens expressed in a referendum.

These entrenched principles were unremarkable except for one giving parliament the power to surrender the Republic's sovereignty to a union of African states. All references to fundamental human rights for Ghanaian citizens were limited to a declaration of principles that the president was required to affirm at his inauguration. Most of the usual individual freedoms were contained in the presidential declaration, but the constitution did not provide any legal sanction to guarantee that the president or the government would not contravene these principles.

The constitution required that at the time of inauguration each president should avow his intent to strive "by every lawful means" for the union of Africa and to surrender the Republic's independence only in furtherance of African unity. The document's inaugural declaration for presidents also included the statement that "chieftaincy in Ghana should be guaranteed and preserved," a pledge that was intended to allay the fears and forestall criticism of the tribal chiefs and their political allies. The regional houses of chiefs, established in 1958 and explicitly preserved in the Republic, served an independent, advisory, and largely powerless role in government, dealing essentially with customary law.

The first republican constitution established a special power relationship between the executive and the legislature. The president, as head of state and head of government, had extensive personal control over all facets of the government. As founder, life chairman, general secretary, and chairman of the central committee of the CPP, which held an overwhelming majority of the seats in the National Assembly, Nkrumah wielded more power than even the constitution, written under and for him, would indicate. Moreover, he was virtually unopposed in the exercise of his constitutional powers.

During most of the Nkrumah era, there was a deliberate blurring of the distinction between the government and the governing party. Through a 1964 amendment to the constitution, Nkrumah introduced the one-party state system in which only the CPP was permitted to operate. Concurrently, he was empowered to remove judges within the legal system at his discretion, thus destroying the traditional independence of the judiciary.

The Military Interval

In February 1966, after the overthrow of the Nkrumah government, the ruling National Liberation Council (NLC) suspended the first republican constitution and replaced it with a decree constitution, understood to be transitory, which legitimized the revolutionary government and established the basis for its future administration of national affairs. It also set in motion a program aimed essentially at national financial recovery. Basic priorities included an audit of the affairs of all government agencies, tax reform measures, and the rescheduling of the vast public debt (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

In September 1966 the NLC announced the requisite steps of a plan for the return of the country to civilian administration as soon as possible. These included a purge of the political system to eliminate elements considered injurious to national well-being, the formulation of an economic reconstruction program, and the production of a new representative constitution. Many of the laws governing the operation of government and administration promulgated since 1957, as well as most of the substantive law, remained in force during this period.

To begin the process of constitutional reform, a seventeen-member commission was charged with collecting the views of people of all sections of the country on the type of constitution desired. Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Edward Akufo-Addo was selected as chairman. The NLC plan called for the commission, composed of anti-Nkrumah political and legal experts, to submit a draft constitution to a popularly elected constituent assembly, which would consider and approve a final draft of the document. The final version would then be submitted to the nation's voters for acceptance or rejection.

In January 1968 the commission completed its lengthy proposals, and the NLC published a series of decrees defining the scope of the proposed constituent assembly and establishing electoral machinery for the conduct of the referendum and plebiscite. The commission's proposals were given wide publicity through the press and radio, and Ghanaians were invited to submit their views to the NLC.

In May the military government announced its intention to return the country to civilian rule by September 30, 1969. Concurrently, it decreed that separate elections would be held to determine the composition of the Constituent Assembly and of the National Assembly that would serve as the basis for the new civilian government.

Because of the difficulties subsequently encountered in the registration of voters, it soon became apparent that the NLC's schedule could not be met. To eliminate delays that would protract the scheduled return to civilian government, the NLC decreed that the Constituent Assembly would be established partly by election and partly by nomination. Of the 150 members authorized, 49 were elected by the existing local councils. Ten were appointed by the NLC, and the remaining 91 were named by various groups, including regional houses of chiefs, city and municipal councils, the Trade Union Congress, and organizations of farmers, fishermen, market women, students, and members of religious bodies, professional associations, and the civil service.

From January to July 1969 the Constituent Assembly considered the commission's recommendations. Ultimately the Constituent Assembly abbreviated the document's original length but adopted the draft constitution without substantial amendment. In the course of its deliberations, however, the Constituent Assembly rejected the NLC's original plan to gain public approval of the document through a referendum. The NLC approved the change in procedure and promulgated the document on August 22, 1969, as the new Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.

Plans for the nation's first general election in eleven years were carried out without significant interruption. After the establishment of a popularly elected national assembly and a government formed in accordance with the principles of the new Constitution, the country officially returned to civilian rule on October 1, 1969. Under constitutional authority, the three-man Presidental Commission served in an executive capacity until a new president was elected in August 1970. The commission was composed of the two most senior members of the NLC and the chief of the defense staff.

The Second Republic

The 1969 Constitution serves as the legal basis of the country's second attempt at a republican form of government. A number of its features have been derived from British and United States governmental theory and practice, but some of its provisions are uniquely Ghanaian. The 157-page document is permeated with legalistic language. Its preamble, in part, states: "We the chiefs and people of Ghana, having experienced a regime of tyranny, remembering with gratitude the heroic struggle against oppression, having solemnly resolved never again to allow ourselves to be subjected to a like regime . . . do adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution."

Often described as an immaculate lawyers' constitution, the country's basic law is explicitly committed to the establishment of a liberal parliamentary democracy. It is intended to express three basic precepts: the doctrine of separation of powers, the rule of law, and the guarantee of individual freedoms. The preamble declares that the document establishes "the sovereignty of the people and the rule of law as the foundation of our society."

Unlike the constitutional forms that prevailed during the Nkrumah era, the 1969 Constitution explicitly guarantees a comprehensive list of fundamental human rights for all Ghanaians, without regard to race, place of origin, political conviction, color, creed, or sex. Subject to the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest, these guaranteed rights include: life, liberty, security of the person; the protection of the law and unimpeded access to the courts; freedom of conscience, of expression, and of assembly and association; and protection for the privacy of homes, correspondence, and other property and from deprivation of property without compensation.

In recognition of the family as the basic unit of society, the document ensures the right of women and children to such special care and assistance as are necessary for the maintenance of health, safety, development, and well-being. The Constitution specifically guarantees the freedom of all Ghanaians from slavery, involuntary servitude, torture, inhuman or degrading punishment, and any other condition that detracts from their dignity and worth as human beings.

To prevent the establishment of dictatorial government, the Constitution outlines elaborate and strict provisions concerning amendments. Several entrenched clauses cannot be amended at all. These include the section dealing with fundamental human rights, the guarantee of the people's right to be represented in government, and the right to vote. Sections dealing with the independence of the judiciary from executive control, the appointment and removal of judges, and the guidelines for salaries and retirement of judicial members are also entrenched. Other entrenched clauses prohibit the imposition of taxes and the raising of an armed force except by act of parliament.

Other parts can be amended only after an elaborate process, which requires that the bill seeking amendment must be debated and accepted by the National Assembly. It must then be published in the government *Gazette* for six months and finally passed by two-thirds of all the members of the legislature. For certain designated clauses, amendment or repeal is permitted only after approval by two successive parliaments.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of 1969 provides for a parliamentary form of central government separated into three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. Parliament consists of the president and the popularly elected National Assembly. The Constitution curbs the powers of the president by granting most of his executive authority to an elected prime minister and several advisory bodies, but it protects the independence of the judiciary. The Republic's basic charter details an intricate system of checks and balances.

The Executive

The president of the Republic is the titular chief of state, but he is not the executive head of government. The president's honorific duties include the accrediting and receiving of diplomatic representatives; with the advice of the cabinet, he appoints members of the diplomatic corps to represent the country abroad. He is commander in chief of the armed forces. All legislation and treaties must bear his signature, and draft legislation and government messages to the legislature must be signed by him. The Constitution grants him the prerogative of mercy; in consultation with the Council of State, he may pardon, reprieve, and reduce or remit punishments prescribed for convicted offenders of the nation's laws. He must approve all sentences of death imposed by the courts.

The president is chosen by a presidential electoral college consisting of all the members of the National Assembly, 24 chiefs elected by the eight regional houses of chiefs, and not more than 120 members elected by the district councils. The Constitution provides, however, that the first president may be elected by the members of the National Assembly and the 24 chiefs alone if the district councils have not yet been formed. Edward Akufo-Addo was elected in this way in August 1970.

To be qualified for election, a presidential candidate must be a citizen by birth, at least forty years old, sufficiently educated to assume and carry out the functions of the office, and qualified for election to the National Assembly. To win, the candidate must receive a simple majority of the votes of all members of the electoral college. An elected president's term of office is constitutionally established at four years. He may not hold the office for more than two consecutive terms.

Power to remove a president from office is delegated to the National Assembly. Grounds for such action are largely based on misconduct or physical or mental incapacity. If the president dies in office, resigns, is impeached, is absent from the country, or is unable to perform his duties because of illness, the speaker of the National Assembly assumes the role of acting president. The Constitution prohibits the president's absence from the country without the consent of the cabinet.

In the performance of his functions, the president is usually required to act in accordance with the advice of the prime minister and other members of the cabinet. To assist and counsel him in his duties, the Constitution has established the sixteen-member Council of State. Ex officio members include the prime minister, the speaker of the National Assembly, the leader of the opposition, and the president of the National House of Chiefs. The second category of membership is limited to not more than four persons, each of whom must have served in one of several important governmental positions, such as president, chief justice, speaker of the National Assembly, or prime minister. Of the remaining members, at least two must be women, and not more than four can be traditional chiefs. Appointment of all but the ex officio members is left to the discretion of the president.

The president is given formal authority to nominate a new prime minister after a government crisis or whenever a new National Assembly is elected. He is bound initially to choose the leader of the majority party in the legislature. If there is no majority party, he may nominate the person he feels will most likely command the support of the majority. The National Assembly then confirms the presidential choice for the office.

In appointing certain key government officials, the president acts in consultation with the Council of State. Such appointments include the electoral commissioner, the chief justice, the auditor general, the ombudsman, members of the statutory corporations that regulate the mass communications media, and the chief of the defense staff. Appointments other than the cabinet that are made by the president acting with the advice of the prime minister include the governor of the Bank of Ghana, members of other state banking and financial institutions, members of the National Council for Higher Education, administrators of the police and prison services, and members of all other statutory corporations.

Judges of the superior courts, other than the chief justice, are appointed by the president with the advice of the Judicial Council, an independent body established by the Constitution. The system of public appointments by committee was written into the Constitution in an effort to ensure that such officials would be independent of partisan politics.

The National Security Council provides policy guidance on matters of common interest to all government agencies. The council is composed of the prime minister, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of defense, the minister of interior, the minister of finance, and the attorney general. The council is responsible for assessing the Republic's objectives, commitments, and risks in relation to Ghanaian military power.

The president, acting with the advice of the cabinet, has constitutional powers to proclaim a state of public emergency, including war. The proclamation must be published in the government *Gazette*, be approved within seventy-two hours by the Council of State, and be adopted within seven days by a majority of the National Assembly.

All executive acts are made in the name of the president, but the prime minister is the actual head of government. His term of office is for five years, unless the president, acting on the prime minister's advice, dissolves the National Assembly or the assembly itself passes a resolution of "no confidence" in the government and a new prime minister is elected. The cabinet of not less than eight nor more than seventeen ministers of state is appointed by the president on the advice of the prime minister, who is the chief cabinet officer. The cabinet determines the general policy of the government. In so doing, it is collectively responsible to the National Assembly.

In carrying out its aim of avoiding a concentration of executive power in any single state authority, the Constitution does not enumerate the prime minister's power in detail. In actual practice, however, his potential as the government's chief policymaker stems from the prime minister's role in three areas. As a member of the executive branch, he is, in effect, the president's leading adviser. As chief cabinet officer, he exercises administrative authority over all national government ministries. As leader of the majority party of the national legislature, his policies and objectives may be expected to find support among the nation's lawmakers.

In late 1970 the president's cabinet consisted of Prime Minister K. A. Busia and eighteen ministers of state. The ministries included those of: interior; foreign affairs; defense; justice (under the attorney general); works; housing; transport and communications; finance and economic planning; youth and rural development; trade, industries, and tourism; information; labor and social welfare; agriculture; lands and mineral resources; health; education, culture, and sports; local administration; and parliamentary affairs. Each minister was assisted by a ministerial secretary, who was also appointed by the president upon the advice of the prime minister. The government had been made deliberately large, with a high proportion of ministerial secretaries to give people the experience needed to play more important roles in the future. Junior ministers were drawn largely from the universities.

A principal secretary, the senior civil servant in each ministry, was responsible for the efficiency of ministry operations. Organization varied from one ministry to another, but generally there were operational and administrative departments or divisions in the hands of civil servants. Throughout the changes in government that have occurred since independence, this organizational pattern has remained little changed and has provided an element of stability at the working level.

The Legislature

The popularly elected National Assembly is the people's voice in the representative government. Its size is constitutionally limited to not more than 150 nor less than 140 members. In late 1970 the legislature included 140 members—105 on the government side and 35 representing other political groups in opposition.

Any Ghanaian citizen at least twenty-one years of age, who is able to speak and read English with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to follow legislative proceedings, is eligible for election. A candidate must have resided for not less than five years in the constituency he seeks to represent, or the candidate or his spouse must be connected ethnically with the community of which the constituency is a part.

The Constitution disqualifies from membership in the National Assembly any person "who has been adjudged or otherwise declared by a Commission of Inquiry to be incompetent to hold public office or . . . [who, as] a public officer . . . acquired assets unlawfully or defrauded the State or misused or abused his office or willfully acted in a manner prejudicial to the interest of the State." This clause was expressly developed to exclude persons who acquired power as supporters or dependents of Nkrumah.

All members of the legislature must run for reelection every five years. The National Assembly must also be dissolved at any time it registers a vote of "no confidence" in the prime minister and his government. Whenever the legislative body is dissolved, a general election must be held within sixty days. Elections to fill individual vacancies must be scheduled no later than thirty days after a seat is vacated.

The presiding official of the legislature, known as the speaker of the National Assembly, is elected by a simple majority vote. The leader of the largest minority political party in the assembly is designated leader of the opposition. With the exception of the speaker and opposition leader, all members of the National Assembly serve without salary, which suggests that they must have independent sources of adequate income. All, however, are authorized to receive allowances for the legitimate costs of official activities.

Questions for decision cannot be proposed in the National Assembly unless at least half of its members are present. In most cases the outcome of motions proposed by members is determined by a simple majority vote of the members present and voting. The speaker of the assembly is not entitled to vote; if the outcome is equally divided, the motion is defeated. Most voting is declared publicly, and secret ballots are limited to constitutional amendments and the election or removal of public officials. The Constitution enjoins assembly members from voting on motions where a conflict of interest exists. It further requires that such members declare the details of that interest to the rest of the assembly.

The power of parliament to make laws is accomplished by the passage of bills by the National Assembly and signature by the president. Bills may not be introduced in the legislature unless they are accompanied by detailed memoranda explaining the policy and principles of the bill, the defects of the existing law that the bill seeks to change, and the remedies proposed to deal with those defects. The bill must be published in complete form in the government *Gazette* at least fourteen days before the date of its introduction in the National Assembly. Bills affecting the traditional institution of chieftaincy cannot be introduced without consultation with the National House of Chiefs.

According to legislative procedure, a proposed bill is first read in the National Assembly and referred to the appropriate standing committee for study and possible amendment. It is then reported back to the assembly for full debate and subsequent voting. Bills that are passed by the legislature are then sent to the president, who must either sign the bill or notify the speaker of the National Assembly within seven days that he rejects the measure.

If he refuses to sign a bill, the president within two weeks must send the legislature a memorandum detailing his specific objections. The bill is reconsidered by the assembly on the

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basis of the president's recommendations for amendments. If the bill is returned after such reconsideration, the president is required to sign it into law. The Constitution does not state whether the National Assembly must accept any or all of the president's recommendations or opinions upon reconsideration. The standard procedure for the passage of bills can be altered by a committee of the assembly in the case of measures deemed to be of an urgent nature. The Constitution requires the president to sign all urgent bills at their first presentation.

For the first time in Ghanaian history, the new Constitution has introduced the committee system in the national legislature. Under this system, the assembly has power to appoint standing committees to deal with public accounts, legislative business, and rules and privileges. The legislature may also appoint committees to investigate and inquire into the activities and administration of the various ministries and governmental departments. Legislative committees have all the investigative powers and privileges of the High Court of Justice. They can call up and interrogate witnesses under oath or affirmation and compel the production of documents for committee examination.

The National Assembly has at least one annual session each year in the capital city of Accra at a time designated by the president. The legislature also may be called into session by the speaker within seven days after receipt of a request to convene signed by at least twenty assembly members.

The Judiciary

In 1960 the republican Constitution and the Court Act established a dual system of courts based largely on the judicial forms inherited from the preindependence colonial administration. Under the superior court system, judicial bodies dealt almost exclusively with relevant British law, statutory and common, and with ordinances and laws enacted by Gold Coast and Ghanaian authorities. The system of local courts, which had replaced the Native Courts of colonial days, was limited in its jurisdiction to matters of customary law. Officials of the superior court system generally had some formal legal training, but local court magistrates were laymen, appointed by, and following the procedures established by, the central government's minister of local government. Counsel representing the defendants were not permitted to appear in local court proceedings.

During the course of his administration, Nkrumah gained virtually complete control over the judiciary with his ability to appoint and remove judicial officials and his power to regulate the conduct of court procedure. By 1966 independence of the judiciary had practically vanished.

To restore confidence in the administration of justice after the coup d 'etat, the NLC through a series of decrees began a program of judicial reform. Oppressive laws imposed during the Nkrumah years were repealed, and the judiciary was purged of all persons considered not sufficiently qualified to hold office. The system of local courts was abolished, and its jurisdiction was transferred to a realigned structure of district courts.

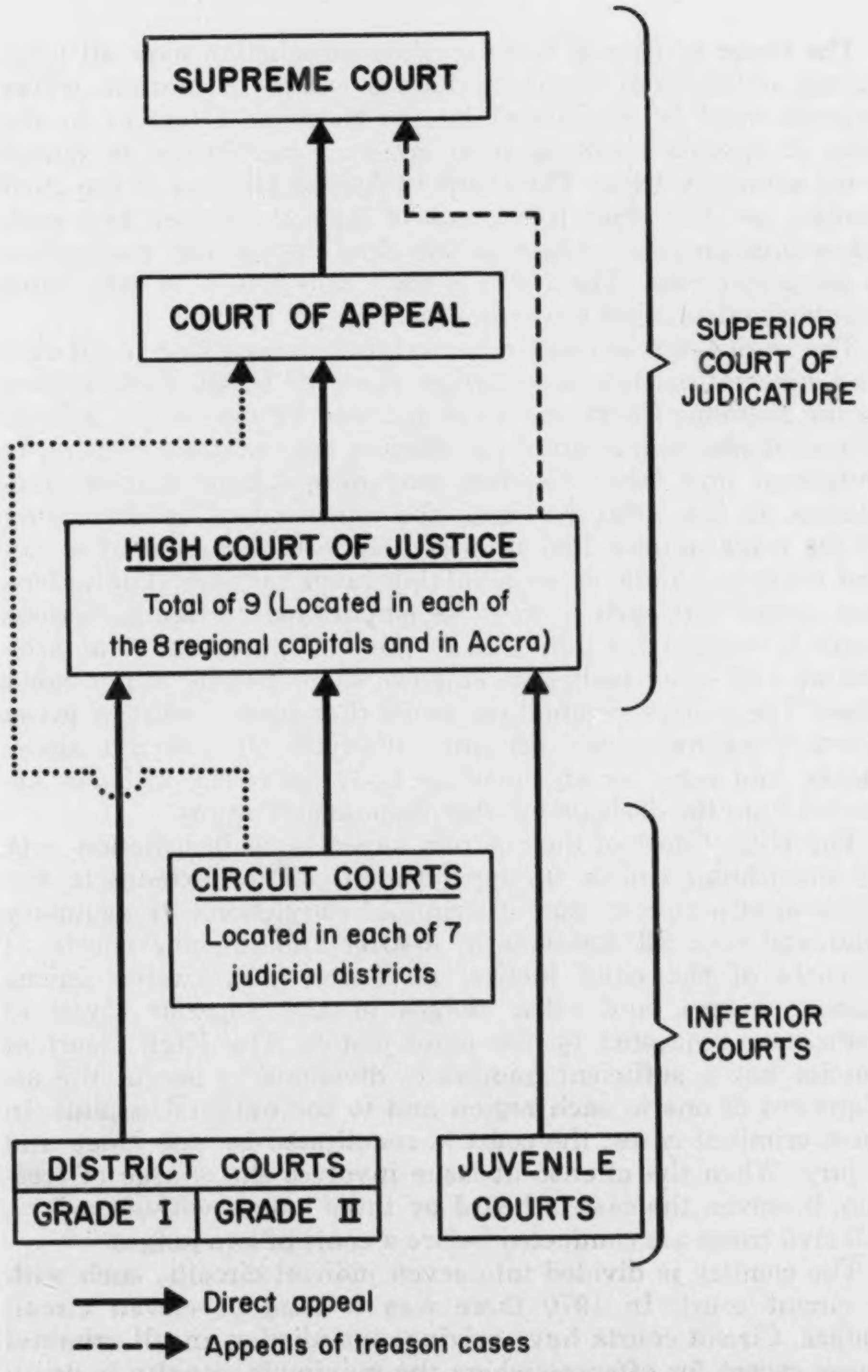
The Judicial Service Commission and a legal committee were established to advise the NLC on reform measures. Later, a large representation of judicial experts was appointed to the commission that was set up to draft a new constitution. The legal system that resulted did not contain all of the reforms felt necessary by a number of leading legal advisers, but independence of the judiciary was protected constitutionally in great detail.

Under the 1969 Constitution judicial power is vested in the judiciary administered by the chief justice. In the exercise of its jurisdiction over all civil and criminal matters and in its administrative functions, the judiciary is subject only to the authority of the Constitution. That document expressly exempts the judiciary from control or direction by any other person or authority and prohibits all organs of the executive branch of government from exercising any final judicial power.

The system of courts consists of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Court of Justice, circuit courts, district courts, and juvenile courts (see fig. 9). The first three are superior courts and together constitute the Superior Court of Judicature; the latter three judicial bodies are classified locally as inferior courts.

The Supreme Court exercises final appellate jurisdiction in all judicial matters. It consists of the chief justice and not fewer than six other justices. The chief justice, however, may appoint other justices of the Superior Court of Judicature for limited periods to hear particular cases. The number of these superior court justices cannot exceed the number of regular Supreme Court justices on the bench at the time. The Supreme Court is considered duly constituted if five justices are present.

The Constitution grants the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction over all contested rulings made by the National House of Chiefs and all convictions for treason made by the High Court of Justice. The Supreme Court also is designated as the appellate body in cases involving fundamental human rights. The court has original jurisdiction in all matters relating to the enforcement and interpretation of the Constitution. It has final authority to determine the constitutionality of parliamentary acts.


SUPREME COURT
COURT OF APPEAL
SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE
HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
Total of 9 (Located in each of the 8 regional capitals and in Accra)
CIRCUIT COURTS
Located in each of 7 judicial districts
INFERIOR COURTS
DISTRICT COURTS
GRADE I
GRADE II
JUVENILE COURTS
Direct appeal
Appeals of treason cases
All appeals except in summary trials

Source: Adapted from Kwame D. Afreh, "Ghana," Pages 25–39 in Antony A. Allott (ed.), *Judicial and Legal Systems in Africa*, London, 1970.

Figure 9. Court Structure of Ghana, 1970

The Court of Appeal has appellate jurisdiction over all judgments of the High Court of Justice except in matters where appeals must be considered by the Supreme Court or in the case of appeals resulting from criminal convictions in circuit court summary trials. The Court of Appeal consists of the chief justice, not less than five Court of Appeal justices, and such other superior court judges as the chief justice may request for a particular case. The court is duly constituted by any three regular justices, with the senior member presiding.

The High Court of Justice has original jurisdiction in all civil and criminal matters except those reserved by the Constitution to the Supreme Court and those granted by law to the inferior courts. It also has original jurisdiction over matters relating to industrial and labor disputes, including administrative complaints. In late 1970, however, the government, at the urging of the trade unions, had proposed the establishment of a special court to handle cases involving labor matters. The unions had asked that such a court be empowered to handle serious cases to prevent the piling up of labor disputes and that arbitrators and other bodies be empowered to handle minor labor cases. The unions also had requested that such a court be given power to enforce severe penalties, interpret all collective agreements, and serve as an appellate body for retrial of cases appealed from the decision of labor dispute arbitrators.

The High Court of Justice has supervisory jurisdiction over all subordinate courts. Its appellate jurisdiction extends to any decision of a circuit court in criminal convictions by summary trial and over all decisions of district and juvenile courts. It consists of the chief justice, no fewer than twelve puisne (junior) judges, and other judges of the Superior Court of Judicature requested by the chief justice. The High Court of Justice has a sufficient number of divisions to permit the assignment of one to each region and to the national capital. In most criminal cases, the court is constituted by one judge and a jury. When the offense at issue involves the charge of treason, however, the case is heard by three judges without a jury. All civil cases are conducted before a court of two judges.

The country is divided into seven judicial circuits, each with a circuit court. In 1970 there was a total of eleven circuit judges. Circuit courts have original jurisdiction in all criminal cases except for offenses where the maximum penalty is death or life imprisonment. All criminal cases are tried before a single judge and a jury. In civil matters, which are conducted before a single judge, the court jurisdiction is limited to cases involving not more than N₵4,000 (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary). Circuit courts do not have appellate jurisdiction.

There are two levels of district courts, classified as Grade I and Grade II. At least one district court is located in each of the many magisterial districts into which the country is divided. In civil matters, Grade I courts have original jurisdiction in cases where the amount involved does not exceed N₵1,200; in Grade II courts the limit is established at N₵360. Both grades of district court have original jurisdiction over criminal cases involving less serious offenses that are punishable by a fine not exceeding N₵240 or imprisonment for not more than twelve months.

Juvenile courts, which operate at a level comparable to district courts, have jurisdiction over all cases involving persons under the age of seventeen. In 1970 juvenile courts were located in Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, Kumasi, and Koforidua.

All superior court judges are appointed by the president, assisted by two constitutionally established bodies. The Council of State advises on the designation of the chief justice, and all other superior judicial appointments are made on the advice of the nine-member Judicial Council. This body consists of the chief justice, the senior justice of each superior court level, the attorney general, three practicing attorneys appointed by the Ghana Bar Association, and one person outside the legal profession appointed by the president. Subordinate court judges, magistrates, and other judicial officials are appointed by the chief justice on the advice of the Judicial Council and the approval of the president.

Superior court judges must vacate their offices at the age of sixty-five but may retire with a pension any time after the age of sixty. All judges may be removed from office for inability to perform their required functions because of mental or physical infirmity or for misconduct. Removal is permitted by the Constitution only after the allegations have been investigated and proved before a special superior court tribunal. A similar but more elaborate procedure is provided for the removal of the chief justice.

The Ombudsman

The office of ombudsman, borrowed from a Swedish concept, was established by the Constitution as a further safeguard against malpractices at all levels of central and local government. He is appointed by the president with the advice of the Council of State. His role in government has been described in the National Assembly as a "poor man's lawyer paid by the state to champion the cause of the under dog."

The ombudsman is empowered to investigate any action taken in the exercise of administrative functions by or on behalf of any department or ministry of state, any member of the armed forces, any statutory corporation established with public funds, or any member of the public services. He is not permitted, however, to inquire into matters before a court or judicial tribunal, situations involving relations between the government and a foreign state or international organization, or affairs relating to the president's prerogative of mercy.

The ombudsman is empowered to receive complaints from members of the public, independent organizations, the National Assembly, or government agencies. He must then examine the complaints and conduct an investigation if the evidence warrants. He may call for and receive documents and verbal testimony of witnesses. He may institute civil proceedings in the courts to rectify irregularities, and he is authorized to make recommendations for the filing of criminal charges against offenders of the Criminal Code. In each session of parliament, the ombudsman must submit a report summarizing matters investigated by his office and all action taken by him during the preceding session of the National Assembly.

In August 1970 the National Assembly approved legislation authorizing the appointment of Africa's first ombudsman. As of late 1970, however, the post remained unfilled, largely because of the president's prolonged indisposition for reasons of health.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The pattern of government below the national level has evolved from continuing efforts, begun before independence, to develop a modern administrative system with the people as active participants. The resulting structure reflects certain aspects of the country's colonial heritage and at the same time preserves various elements of traditional authority. In late 1970 the country was divided administratively into eight regions, which were further subdivided into forty-seven districts and hundreds of local units. The larger population centers were organized as cities and municipalities under the administration of city and municipal councils, respectively. Sparsely populated villages and rural areas were treated as areas of local authority administered by local councils.

The system of local government was begun after the 1951 elections when the Nkrumah government established a series of district, local, and urban councils whose members were partly nominated by the African chiefs. Regional councils and administrators were not established because Nkrumah argued that trained personnel were in such short supply that they could not be drained off for an intermediate level of government. Instead, he appointed regional commissioners of cabinet rank, who were assisted by professional administrative staffs. These local government staffs, with the help of district commissioners, who were also political appointees, carried out the policies of the regional commissioners, who were directly responsible to the cabinet and the president. Policy came down from the top and was carried out at regional and district levels.

The district commissioner, as the real liaison between the people and the national government, was regarded as the key figure in the system. He was supposed to maintain a good relationship with all elements of his community, especially the local chiefs and their councillors. Between 1951 and 1961 the central government experimented with local, district, and regional councils and with the composition of each. The traditional members were eliminated from the local councils so that all members, with the occasional exception of the local chief as president, were directly elected by the people. District councils and regional assemblies were abolished.

In 1961 the National Assembly passed the Local Government Act, which provided that the country would be divided into administrative areas administered by city, municipal, urban, or local councils. The central government, as before, remained responsible for policy decisions on local government matters. In the smaller, more compact, and densely populated areas, city councils, municipal councils, and urban councils were established, depending largely on the size of the area concerned. Local councils covered the scattered village and rural areas. Composition of the councils and the functions of each were the prerogative of the central government, but most of their members were elected.

Any man or woman was eligible for election to a local council if he or she was an elector in that council area, registered, and not infirm. The minister of local government at the national level could appoint the local paramount chief as president of the council (in rotation if there were more than one), but he was an ex officio member and did not take part in debate. The term of a local council was three years, and no member could hold office for more than three years.

Councils had at least three committees—finance and staff, education, and development—more being established as required. The councils also passed bylaws, which technically had to be approved by the minister of local government but which, in fact, came from him. Every city and municipal council appointed a clerk, treasurer, engineer, and medical officer. Each urban and local council appointed a clerk. Service conditions were governed by regulations made under the Local Government Act, which did not specify age, education, or other qualifications that candidates for posts in the local government service should possess.

Mandatory functions of local government councils included: the building, care, naming, and lighting of streets and the numbering of buildings; sewage disposal, the construction and care of public toilet facilities and other sanitation measures; the provision of schools, bus service, and fire protection; the registration of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces; and the regulation of commercial entertainment, markets, slaughterhouses, and public eating places. City and municipal councils, in addition, carried out certain administrative functions, such as the enforcement of the Mosquito Ordinance and the issuing of various licenses.

After the 1966 coup d'etat, the NLC purged the various levels of local government of their politically appointed members. The military government set up local administrative councils to engage the energies of the educated leaders whom Nkrumah had imprisoned or driven into exile. Moreover, the NLC displaced traditional chiefs Nkrumah had enstooled (see Glossary) contrary to customary law and replaced them with the legitimate chiefs Nkrumah had destooled (see Glossary) (see ch. 5, Social System). The military government also issued a number of reorganization decrees which, in effect, restored much of the traditional administrative system that had existed during preindependence days.

Regional commissioners, influential officials during the Nkrumah era, were replaced by regional committees of administration. These administrative authorities consisted of each region's senior army officer, senior police officer, and a varying number of appointed civil servants. The Local Government Act of 1961, which had established the various local councils, was amended by NLC decree in 1966. The decree established management committees, made up of central and local government personnel, that took over the functions of the former elected councils. The new management committees also were established at city, municipal, and urban levels of government.

In 1968 a commission appointed by the NLC made suggestions for sweeping changes in local government. The District Authority was suggested as the basic unit of a reformed administrative system that would effectively decentralize the system that had carried over from the Nkrumah days. The commission recommended that district authorities be given increased powers to make them responsible for comprehensive development programs within their districts. These programs were to include the development and maintenance of roads, the administration of community lands, the provision of agricultural extension services, and the operation of primary and middle schools. The Institute of Regional Development was recommended as an agency to provide research and advice on regional and district development and administration.

Efforts to decentralize governmental authority have continued since the adoption of the new Constitution and the return to civilian rule. The Constitution explicitly guarantees the institution of chieftaincy with its traditional councils as established by customary law. In addition to retaining the regional houses of chiefs, the Constitution created the National House of Chiefs, to which each regional body elects five chiefs.

The regional chiefs have original jurisdiction in all matters relating to a paramount stool, including appeals submitted by the traditional councils. The national chiefs have appellate jurisdiction in decisions concerning chieftaincy made at regional levels. The Constitution also charges the National House of Chiefs with progressive study, interpretation, and codification of customary law in order to evolve a unified system of rules with national application.

Constitutional authority is provided for the administration of local governmental functions by local, district, and regional councils. Parliament is granted authority to establish rural, urban, and municipal councils. Members of the local councils are partly elected by the people and partly appointed by the local chiefs. The number appointed by traditional authority, however, cannot exceed one-half of the total elected members. District councils are authorized a membership, of which two-thirds are elected and one-third is chosen by the chiefs of the district. District councils have retained most of the functions prescribed in the Local Government Act of 1961. They have authority to levy rates and taxes, but most funds to support district programs are provided by the central government.

Regional council membership is composed of not more than two chiefs from the regional house of chiefs, at least one member from each district council in the region, and a chairman appointed by the prime minister. The senior officer of each national ministerial agency within the region is an ex officio member of the regional council, but the number of ex officio members cannot exceed one-half of the total regular council members. Ex officio members do not have the right to vote on any matter of decision before the council.

To revitalize development projects in many areas, some regional and district councils have formed planning units. In addition, the ministerial departments in the regions have similar local goals. To provide coordination of these efforts and to achieve the most with limited funds and technical personnel, the government in late 1970 focused rural development planning at two levels—national and regional. At the national level each ministry requests its regional officers to identify the possible areas of investment in its particular sector for each region. These projects are then passed to Accra for consideration at the ministerial level and for integration into a sector program. District development committees present possible projects for consideration to a regional planning committee, which attempts to coordinate it with the ministerial plan for that region.

In the process of decentralization, problems associated with financing and staffing local councils have led to some criticism of the quality of these local government institutions. Lack of standardization in such matters as administrative procedure and accounting have affected the efficiency of some local council activities. At higher levels most of the top administrative positions, such as council clerks and treasurers, have been filled with personnel trained in the government's School of Administration. Many local council members, however, have little if any formal training for their roles in governmental affairs. An NLC decree issued in 1969 stated that local government employees were effectively part of the public service as of April 1, 1969. Eventually, local government personnel were expected to receive standardized training to upgrade the quality of their performance.

THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Modern law was first introduced into the area by the British in the late nineteenth century. With this action, the country inherited a dual legal system that persisted to some degree in late 1970. Initially, one set of laws—based largely on British common law and enactments of colonial administrative bodies—was applied to persons of European background and was administered by British-style courts. The second form of law—was intended solely for African inhabitants; these customary laws were administered by special bodies designated Native Courts.

Because a standardized customary law applicable to the entire country did not exist and because Africans were increasingly involved in economic and other relations not covered in customary law, the British-derived system eventually was made available to those Africans who chose to govern their obligations by rules other than those of customary law or whose activities seemed to require the application of Western law. Officially, customary law was considered to be foreign law in the view of colonial administrators.

Relatively minor changes occurred in the legal system at the time of independence, except that the Native Courts were redesignated as local courts. In 1960 changes were made in the legal system, but these also did little to rectify the dual nature of the country's laws. The common law, as newly defined in the republican constitution, was not the same as the common law of England; rather, it was a composite from European and African sources. It comprised not only the common law of England but also the English doctrines of equity, the general statutes in force in England on July 24, 1874, as applied in Ghana at the time it became a republic, and certain general rules of African customary law absorbed into the new common law by parliamentary enactment. In any case of inconsistency, the absorbed customary law prevailed.

The Law Interpretation Act of 1960 stated that "in deciding upon the existence or content of a rule of the common law, as so defined, the court may have regard to any exposition of that rule by a court exercising jurisdiction in any country." Based on imported British law, common law was therefore being transformed into a Ghanaian common law, assimilating some aspects of customary law.

Lacking unity, customary law was made up of the various systems of traditional laws and customs, frequently unwritten, flexible, and deriving their existence from popular consent and long usage in particular ethnic groups or communities. By absorption, they included some elements of Islamic law, particularly with regard to marriage. Because the various systems were often in conflict, they could not be incorporated as a whole in the general body of law applicable to the entire country.

Despite the general lack of consistency, customary law was elevated in status in 1960 and was no longer considered a foreign law by the courts, some of which were being staffed by formally trained Africans. Judges were presumed to know customary law and, where doubts arose, special judicial inquiries were held to obtain guidance. The establishment of regional houses of chiefs provided a ready source for interpretations of customary law.

In 1966 at the time of the military coup d'etat, the laws of the Republic had been legally constituted by authority of the 1960 Constitution. Although the constitution was suspended by the NLC, the legal system was retained by a proclamation that stated that enactments and rules of law in force immediately before the coup would continue to prevail. At the time, statutory law consisted of the five-volume *Laws of the Gold Coast,* a compilation dating from the years before independence and augmented by new and amending legislation enacted by the succeeding parliamentary bodies. Later decrees by the NLC abolished those existing statutes considered to be repugnant, such as the Preventive Detention Law (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Except for restoration of the judiciary's independence from executive control, little actual reform of the legal system occurred during the years of military government. A law committee was appointed to propose changes to the system, but its work was confined largely to realigning the structure of the courts. Moreover, the drafters of the new constitution perpetuated the longstanding duality in the country's legal system.

Laws of Ghana

As defined by the Constitution of 1969, the Republic's laws consist of the Constitution, enactments of the new parliament, any regulations lawfully made by constitutionally established authorities, the existing law, and the common law. By definition, common law is composed of laws based largely on assimilated British common law, the doctrines of equity, and customary law. The existing law includes all retained statutes and unwritten laws as they existed before adoption of the Constitution. An amendment to the Law Interpretation Act specifies that a statute of general application has precedence over any element of common law except assimilated elements of customary law.

The Courts Decree, issued in 1966 by the NLC and still in force in 1970, established rules for the application of common law, substantive statutory law, and customary law in civil cases. In all civil cases, issues are determined according to national—statutory or common—law unless the plaintiff is subject to a system of local customary law and claims the right to have the issue determined according to the traditional system. In practice, customary law remains the most important source of law regarding property, marriage, succession, and other family matters. In the case of torts and contracts, however, statutory and common laws generally apply.

The confusion that often arises from attempts to apply the mixture of laws comprised by the legal system is illustrated by the various existing marriage laws. According to the law, three types of marriage are recognized: ceremonies performed under the statutory Marriage Ordinance, those conducted according to customary law, and those required by Islamic law. Ordinance marriage is monogamous according to the statutory law. The parties cannot be divorced or legally separated except by a court of competent jurisdiction. With or without the execution of a legal will, surviving members are entitled to inherit family property from deceased husbands and fathers.

Under customary law polygynous marriage is permitted, and a surviving widow and her children do not have inheritance rights. Survivors, instead, are expected to remain in the deceased husband's home, to be maintained by his successor—usually a member of his kinship group. Should the widow refuse to marry any of her late husband's relatives, his relatives can sever her ties with the group and recover any dowry paid at the time of the marriage. Islamic law also permits polygynous marriage and, under it, inheritance differs from that under civil and customary law.

In late 1970, a year after the country's return to civil administration, changes in the legal system were minimal. Several important new laws were passed during the period, but no action had been taken on the reports and recommendations of the law reform committee on such matters as marriage, succession, and other family affairs.

Criminal Law and Procedure

As a consequence of more than a century of legal evolution, the application of customary law to acts defined by modern courts as crimes has disappeared. Since 1961 the criminal law administered by all courts has been completely statutory and based on the Criminal Code. Essentially a consolidation, rearrangement, and simplification of earlier colonial legislation, the code is founded on English law and introduces no important innovations.

Two of the three broad categories of offenses cited in the code deal with offenses against the person, such as murder, assault, and libel, and offenses against property, such as theft, forgery, and unlawful damage. The third category defines a wide list of offenses against public order, health, and morality; these range from serious crimes against the safety of the state, piracy, perjury, and riot to petty public nuisances and cruelty to animals. Some of the offenses reflecting the country's ethnic traditions are unauthorized drumming and dancing, drumming with intent to challenge or provoke disorder, unlawful exportation (smuggling) of cocoa, and private settlement of disputes by traditional methods of ordeal likely to result in death or bodily injury.

Several laws dealing with internal security and previously set out in separate enactments have been made part of the Criminal Code. The treason law, which consisted of British statutes dating back 600 years to the reign of Edward III, was completely rewritten in 1959 and was in 1970 a part of the code. The offense, punishable by death, consists of: preparing or endeavoring to overthrow the government by unlawful means, to alter its law or policies, or to usurp the executive power of the state by force; inciting or assisting in the preparation for or attack of Ghana by armed force; or assisting an enemy in time of war.

In addition to provisions of the Criminal Code, a number of separate enactments are aimed at strengthening public order. The Deportation Act empowers the president to order the deportation of persons who are not citizens and whose presence in the country is deemed contrary to the public good. The Public Order Act authorizes the minister of interior to regulate the possession and carrying of weapons, to impose curfews, and to prohibit public meetings and processions when necessary. The Avoidance of Discrimination Act prohibits any organization from using or engaging in tribal, regional, racial, or religious propaganda to the detriment of any other community. Having replaced inadequate laws on the subject, the Pharmacy and Drugs Act represents an attempt to control narcotics and dangerous drugs by imposing rigid controls over the cultivation of plants yielding narcotics and the possession, sale, and use of narcotics.

Criminal court procedure is guided principally by the Criminal Procedure Code enacted by parliament in 1960. Like the Criminal Code, it is a consolidation and revision of earlier enactments and follows closely the principles of English law. The code covers all aspects of the administration of justice for criminal offenses from arrest and trial to release and supervision of convicted persons. The law of habeas corpus is recognized, and its guarantee has been strengthened by provisions within the Constitution dealing with fundamental human rights.

Criminal proceedings are usually instituted before a district or circuit court, except for offenses where the maximum punishment is death or life imprisonment, in which case the High Court of Justice has original jurisdiction. Depending on principles of jurisdiction, the court either inquires into and tries the case, remits it to another district, circuit, or juvenile court, or commits the accused to a higher court for trial. Ordinarily an offense is handled by a court within the local limits of whose jurisdiction the offense was committed. Persons taken into custody may be released on bail pending further action.

Offenses may be tried summarily or on indictment, depending on their gravity and the maximum authorized punishment.

In general, all offenses for which the maximum penalty does not exceed imprisonment for more than twelve months or a fine of more than N₵240 are tried summarily. Offenses of a graver nature must be tried by indictment by circuit courts or the High Court of Justice.

Procedure for summary trial follows the steps of arraignment, pleas by the accused, opening statements by prosecution and defense, closing arguments, findings, evidence of previous convictions, and sentence. Except for minor offenses to which the accused agrees to plead guilty in writing or to be represented entirely by counsel, the accused must be present in court. All testimony is given under oath or on affirmation, but evidence by deposition is also admissible. The accused is privileged to testify in his own behalf or to make an unsworn statement.

All proceedings for trial on indictment must be initiated by the attorney general, who appoints public prosecutors. These officials may be members of the attorney general's staff, legal practitioners briefed to appear for the government on public matters, or public officers, such as policemen, appointed either for certain classes of criminal actions or for specific cases.

The legal system does not make use of grand juries. All indictments are founded on the basis of a preliminary hearing before the appropriate magistrate. The bill of indictment, stating the offense charged, must be supported by the prosecution's list of witnesses and a summary of their evidence signed by the attorney general. Preliminary hearings may be held in either open or closed court at the discretion of the magistrate.

Under the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, all persons charged with a criminal offense are entitled to trial by jury if desired. Jurors are selected from lists prepared semiannually by the court in each magisterial district. Subject to certain exceptions, all male citizens between the ages of twenty-five and sixty and able to understand English are liable for jury duty. Women with the same qualifications may volunteer for such duty. For particular court sessions, panels are drawn by lot and summoned to attend.

For each case brought to jury trial, jurors are successively drawn by lot from the panel until all the jurors have been seated. Jurors may be challenged for cause, and the accused is allowed three peremptory challenges.

Upon a guilty verdict, the court hears evidence of previous convictions and sentences the accused. A system of grading establishes five degrees of offenses and specifies maximum punishments. Capital offenses, for which the maximum penalty is death by hanging, are limited to murder, treason, and piracy.

First-degree felonies, punishable by life imprisonment, include manslaughter, rape, and abetment of mutiny. Second-degree felonies, punishable by ten years' imprisonment, include causing intentional and unlawful harm to a person, perjury, and robbery. Misdemeanors, punishable by varying terms of imprisonment, include assault, theft, unlawful assembly, corruption by a public officer, and public nuisances. Felonies and misdemeanors are also punishable by fine in addition to, or in lieu of, imprisonment. For persons with previous convictions, increased penalties are authorized. Corporal punishment, permissible earlier, is no longer allowed.

Punishments for juvenile offenders are subject to two restrictions. No sentence of death may be passed against a juvenile, and no imprisonment may be adjudged against a juvenile under the age of fifteen or, in the case of district or juvenile courts, under the age of seventeen. The Criminal Procedure Code, however, authorizes special measures for dealing with convicted juveniles, such as committal to the care of relatives or other fit persons or ordering parents or guardians to pay fines, costs, and damages or to give security for good behavior.

For most convictions the law grants a right of appeal, which must be entered within ten days. The defense may appeal on questions of fact or law; the prosecution may appeal on questions of law. Appeals to the Supreme Court are limited to questions of law.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES

A comprehensive civil service system was inherited from the British at the time of independence. The service grew rapidly throughout the Nkrumah years, with an increasing number of Ghanaians and a decreasing number of non-Ghanaians. Africanization of the civil service was considered a necessary step not only toward making the country independent but also toward building a sense of pride in the new nation. From time to time recruiting was carried out in Europe and throughout the commonwealth to obtain people for specific posts that could not be filled by Ghanaians currently available, but every effort was made to train more Ghanaians for public positions.

Between 1951 and 1961 the size of the civil service increased by nearly 100 percent. As it became more bureaucratic, the service was expanded organizationally into a number of specialized agency administrations. These included, in addition to the civil service, a judicial service, a police service, a prison service, and a local government service. Collectively they formed the public services.

Originally the Civil Service Act of 1960 established the Civil

Service Commission to administer the appointment, removal, and functioning of public servants. An amendment passed in 1965, however, abolished the commission and transferred its authority to the president. At the time of the coup in 1966 the public services were administered by various ministries and departments of the central government. The secretary to the cabinet was responsible to the president for securing the general efficiency of the public services.

After the overthrow of the Nkrumah government, the NLC continued the public services as they had existed before the coup. With the concurrent removal of Nkrumah's ministers, however, the NLC by decree assumed responsibility for ministerial affairs. In order to administer the public services properly, the NLC restored the Civil Service Commission, changing its name to the Public Services Commission.

Throughout the period of military rule, the NLC relied heavily on the senior civil servants for various quasi-political or policy-oriented roles. Eventually, ministerial functions were delegated to the principal secretaries who had served in the former government. Public service technical personnel dominated the management committees established by the NLC to replace local government councils. The Economic Committee, the first appointed by the NLC, was composed mainly of senior civil servants and was given the task of studying and recommending ways to rehabilitate the economy. The Administrative Committee was appointed to advise the NLC on all matters relating to central and local government administration. Its duties included making recommendations for carrying out executive decisions and the general reorganization of the ministries and departments. To a substantial extent the experienced public services provided basic continuity in government affairs during the entire period of military rule.

In late 1970 the public services consisted of the civil service, the judicial service, the police service, the prison service, and the audit service—all established by constitutional authority under the administration of the Public Services Commission. Although the functions and responsibilities of these divisions were largely similar to those that existed before the coup, the civil service now included the functions of both central and local governments. The new audit service was expressly established by the Constitution to prevent economic mismanagement of governmental agencies and officials, such as occurred under Nkrumah. It was administered by an auditor general appointed by the president with the advice of the Council of State.

At the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy, the Public Services Commission is the final authority on all matters of public service. Commission members, who serve under a chairman, are appointed by the president. They cannot be members of local government councils or public officers. Each must, in his own right, be eligible for election to the National Assembly.

All appointments to public service are made by the president, acting on the advice of the Public Services Commission. The commission is responsible for the formulation and administration of all examinations for positions in the public services and public corporations. It also establishes the qualifications required of candidates and assists in joint recruitment procedures. All of the subordinate subdivisions of the public services are administered by special councils, whose chairmen are automatically members of the Public Services Commission.

The power to remove public servants was conferred on the government by the Constituent Assembly, which was constituted in 1968 to draft the new Constitution and which served as the legislature until the election of the new National Assembly. Under transitional provisions of the Constitution covering the changeover from military to civil administration, the government was allowed to dismiss public servants that had been given their posts by the dissolved NLC.

In early 1970 Prime Minister Busia announced publicly that his government had reviewed the appointments of the 200,000 public service officials and had confirmed all except 568 for reappointment. Those dismissed included a number of top-level officials who, the government believed, had participated in the misdeeds of the Nkrumah regime merely for material gain and who had misdirected the NLC on some crucial national issues. The dismissal action brought the government into direct conflict with the civil service, but some Ghanaian government and academic observers suggested that the dismissals did not go far enough to accomplish the required government reform. Other critics charged that the action had tribal overtones.

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Because of widespread malpractices associated with popular elections that occurred during the Nkrumah administration, the NLC in 1967 appointed a commission to investigate these activities and to make recommendations for the reformation of the electoral system. For several months the commission reviewed masses of testimony from a large number of witnesses, who described in detail the practices employed by the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) to assure the Nkrumah government's continuance in power. The investigation and subsequent recommendations resulted in drastic amendment of the Electoral Provisions Act, which served as the basic authority for all electoral processes. Ultimately, provisions designed to protect the people's right to be represented by legitimately elected officials were inserted in the new Constitution.

By constitutional provision, all citizens of the Republic are guaranteed the right to vote if they have attained the age of twenty-one and are mentally competent. To assure this guaranteed right and to supervise all elections and referenda, the Constitution established the Electoral Commission, whose members are appointed by the president acting with the advice of the Council of State. To assist in assuring that proper electoral procedure is followed, the commission may request the assistance of the Ghana Police Service. In late 1970 the minister of interior, acting on such a request, established special squads of the national police in each of the electoral constituencies.

In 1970 the country was divided into 140 constituencies, corresponding to the number of members in the National Assembly. The electoral districts, based largely on population density, were delimited by the Electoral Commission. According to the electoral laws, each district is entitled to elect a single legislative representative by the process of simple majority vote.

Each registered voter is issued an identification card bearing his photograph, signature, and thumbprint. Appropriate squares are punched by election officials after the voter has cast his ballot. Severe penalties are attached to the misuse of these cards. All voting is by secret ballot.

The electoral laws require that public notices announcing elections must appear in the government *Gazette* at least forty-two days before the election, and copies must circulate in all constituencies. Election staffs appointed by the Electoral Commission supervise the balloting process and tabulate the final vote. Polling stations are situated in a manner that will allow easy access by all voters in the constituency. The hours of voting extend from 7:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. on election days.

Legally organized political parties may participate in all public elections, but the Constitution prohibits the formation and participation of groups organized along purely tribal or religious lines (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values). Because many qualified voters cannot read or write, political parties are entitled to use pictorial symbols or colors to denote candidates. These representative devices, however, must not have any tribal or religious connotation. The names of all candidates together with their symbols or colors must be publicized in all electoral districts by election officials at least one week before an election.

In amending the Republic's electoral laws, the National Assembly has attempted to reduce the possibility of flagrant electoral malpractices. The procedures prescribed for all activity associated with elections are lengthy and cautious in their detail. The effectiveness of the new electoral system was tested for the first time in the general elections of 1969.

CHAPTER 9

POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND VALUES

The framework for political activity in early 1971 was a democratic two-party system, as provided for by the 1969 Constitution. Political contests, although affected to some extent by ethnic and traditional allegiances, took place in open contests between political parties with nationwide organizations. Both the ruling Progress Party of Prime Minister K. A. Busia and the opposition, most of which united in 1970 into the Justice Party, were dedicated to preserving democratic government. The constitutional guarantees of personal freedom were honored, although some conflict had arisen between the rights of the executive and the judiciary. The military and police had willingly withdrawn from all positions of power, but the army continued to see its role as that of the ultimate guarantor of liberty and governmental effectiveness.

Despite the vast political changes brought about by and after the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, the underlying divisions and problems of the society remained. Since the apparent spirit of national unity during the Nkrumah years turned out to have resulted from his coercive powers, the new leaders still faced the problem of welding together the disparate personal, ethnic, and sectional interests to form a real Ghanaian nation. The economic burden of past extravagance weakened the Busia government's ability to foster rapid development and to satisfy even minimal popular demands for a better life.

The fear of a resurgence of an overly strong central authority dominated the constitutional structure and pervaded the thinking of many educated, politically minded Ghanaians, but others felt that a strong government was essential for the nation's development. A considerable portion of the population had become disillusioned with the chances of operating an effective honest government under the leadership of contesting or dominating political parties and remained favorable to a nonpolitical leadership for the nation.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS, 1966-70

The leaders of the coup that overthrew Nkrumah immediately opened the country's borders and its prison gates to allow a return from exile or preventive detention of all Nkrumah's opponents. For some time, however, the National Liberation Council (NLC) banned all political activity (see ch. 8, The Governmental System). The scope of such activity was gradually allowed to broaden as the NLC took steps to return the country to civilian control. Although the formation of political parties was banned until late 1968, activity by individual figures began much earlier, particularly with the appointment by the NLC of a succession of committees composed of civil servants and political figures—at first as aides to the NLC but later as steps in the return to civilian and representative rule.

These moves culminated in the creation of the Constituent Assembly to consider and approve a constitution for the Second Republic of Ghana. Although only one-third of the assembly's members were actually elected, efforts were made to ensure that it represented nearly all elements in the country. The NLC's announcement on October 28, 1968, that political party activity would be allowed to commence with the opening of the assembly brought a return of political life throughout the country and the first competitive nationwide political contest since the 1956 elections to the Legislative Assembly (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

By the time the ban against political activity was actually lifted on May 1, 1969, sixteen parties had already been formed. These largely coalesced around particular leaders rather than major political issues or ideologies. By election time in August compromise and coalition had reduced the field to five parties. The major contenders were the Progress Party, headed by K. A. Busia, and the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL), led by K. A. Gbedemah. The other parties were much smaller followings of intellectual leaders who were reluctant to align themselves with either major party, both of which they generally looked upon as reincarnations of earlier unprogressive movements.

Both the larger parties were associated in the minds of their critics with Ghana's former political divisions, specifically those of the early Nkrumah years. Many compared the 1969 elections to the 1956 elections and found striking parallels in party alignment. The Progress Party found much of its support among the old opponents of Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP), the educated elite, and the traditionalists of the Ashanti Region and the north. This link was strengthened by the fact that Busia had headed the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and its successor, the United Party (UP), before fleeing the country to oppose Nkrumah from exile.

Similarly, the NAL was seen as the successor of the CPP.

Although Gbedemah had strongly opposed Nkrumah after 1961, he had been the chief organizer of the CPP in the 1950s, second only to Nkrumah himself, and responsible for the CPP victory in the crucial 1956 elections. Others attempted to label the NAL as the party of the Ewe ethnic group, although Gbedemah had not been noted as an Ewe leader and the NLC, with important Ewe members, seemed to favor Busia.

Unlike the clearly ethnic bloc voting of the 1956 election, the results of the 1969 elections have not been analyzed in satisfactory detail. Along with the full support of the Ashanti, the Progress Party carried all the seats in the Brong-Ahafo Region. Although Busia is a Boron (Brong), the region's voters had previously given him only limited support, being primarily influenced by local divisive issues and a dislike of anyone or any party supported by their Ashanti neighbors (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Most of the seats in the traditionalist north also went to the Progress Party candidates, but the pattern did not correspond to the solid NLM vote in the 1950s (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). The other parties won a number of seats, and all elections were closely contested, with a number of winners in three-way contests winning by less than 50 percent of the votes cast. In the Volta Region the NAL dominated, winning fourteen of the sixteen seats. This did not indicate complete Ewe support for the NAL, however, as the two seats won by the Progress Party were in solidly Ewe districts and the seats in the non-Ewe-populated northern constituencies all went to the NAL.

The People's Action Party (PAP) won both seats among the Nzema in the Western Region. Nkrumah was an Nzema, and they had been his strongest supporters. A third seat in the region was a personal victory for the leader of the All People's Representative Party (APRP). In the Accra Capital District the nine seats were divided—three each for the Progress Party and the NAL, two for the United Nationalist Party headed by Joe Appiah, and one for a pro-NAL independent.

The full results gave 59 percent of the total votes and 104 (or 74 percent) of the 140 seats in the National Assembly to the Progress Party. Although the party's greatest support came from the Akan peoples, including the Ashanti, its victories demonstrated support in all the regions and among all the ethnic groups except the Ewe and Nzema. An estimated 60 percent of the electorate voted.

Immediately after the elections, Gbedemah was barred from taking his seat in the National Assembly by a Supreme Court decision. A commission probing the financial activities of the

CPP leaders had earlier concluded that Gbedemah had illegally acquired government funds for his own use. Article 71 of the Constitution bars membership in the assembly to persons found guilty by such a commission of having misused public funds. His supporters asserted that the article had been included solely to bar him, but others pointed out that the article is consistent with the many other measures in the Constitution intended to prevent what were considered the two major complaints against the Nkrumah regime—corruption and arbitrary rule. Gbedemah retired from all political activity; his seat went by default to his Progress Party opponent, bringing its strength to 105 seats.

The NAL held twenty-nine seats in the assembly and had the support of the independent member. The three minor parties, with a total of only five members, were at first united only by their opposition to the Progress Party. Without Gbedemah the NAL was left without the leadership that the opposition's limited numbers required in order to be effective. His successor as leader of the opposition was G. K. Agama. Agama, who was considered an excellent parliamentarian, resigned in August 1970 to study for a year at Princeton University. His replacement, E. R. T. Madjitey, a former head of the national police, who had been removed and detained by Nkrumah, lacked political experience.

The government formed at the first meeting of the National Assembly in September was composed of eighteen ministers chosen from all sections of the Progress Party's delegation, assisted by a very large number of parliamentary secretaries. Busia, the party's leader not only in parliament but also nationally, became the prime minister.

The balance designed by the Constitution between the powers of the president and the prime minister did not come immediately into play as the final act of the Constituent Assembly was the creation of the three-man Presidential Commission. The commission was composed of the chairman, Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, the deputy chairman, Police Commissioner J. W. R. Harlley of the NLC, and the chief of the defense staff, Major General A. K. Ocran. The commission was to serve in place of an elected president for three years, unless sooner relieved at the request of parliament. This last-minute change seemed designed to perpetuate the rule of the military leaders of the 1966 coup, but some observers saw the Presidential Commission as an effective means of ensuring that the newly elected National Assembly and cabinet got underway without divisive battles at the outset over the election of a president.

The lack of a president and the weakness of the opposition in the assembly during the first year and a half of civilian rule left all attention focused on Prime Minister Busia and his government. During this initial period the Busia government encountered problems on a number of issues. The first of these involved the methods employed in the expulsion of large numbers of noncitizens from the country beginning in December 1969 (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages; ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Although articulate elements of the electorate voiced regrets for the personal hardships caused to those expelled, nearly all Ghanaian opinion favored the expulsion order and its companion measure aimed at limiting foreign involvement in small businesses because they were seen clearly as the first steps toward relieving the unemployment created by the country's precarious economic situation. The acts were also popular because they forced out many of the Asian businessmen who were generally disliked by urban Ghanaians, who accused them of unjust business practices.

In February 1970 the government summarily dismissed 568 civil servants from their posts. This act had been provided for in the Constitution's provisional clauses, which stated that, in order to ensure effectiveness and loyalty to civilian rule, the first government could, within six months of taking office, dismiss any civil servant who had been given his post by the NLC. The number that the Busia government chose to dismiss was an insignificant portion of the more than 200,000 public employees, but the government was severely criticized from all sides for the choices it had made. The opposition alleged that tribal and political factors had played an important part; the government denied the accusation and claimed that its prime motive was a desire to get rid of deadwood and to shake up the service in order to improve its morale and popular image.

In April the efforts of one of the dismissed officials to be reinstated led to a confrontation between the judiciary and the executive branch of government. The courts directed the government to reinstate one of the dismissed civil servants on technical grounds. The prime minister, in a national radio and television broadcast, accused the judges involved of playing politics. A panel of other judges reviewed the case and the prime minister's allegations but upheld the original decision. The government, however, refused to reinstate the man. A similar incident occurred at the lower level some months later in a deportation case. The executive's handling of the incidents undermined popular confidence in the judiciary on one hand and in the government's willingness to operate within the democratic but restrictive framework of the Constitution on the other (see ch. 8, The Governmental System).

In August 1970 the Presidential Commission was dissolved by an act of parliament with the concurrence of the commission members. Steps were immediately taken to hold a presidential election. Before stepping down, Brigadier Afrifa, the commission chairman, voiced criticism of some provisions of the Constitution. The criticism most widely noted was that aimed at the provision barring persons under the age of forty from becoming president, which had the effect of preventing the candidacy of the very popular general. In addition, he expressed disapproval of the most noteworthy general feature of the Constitution, its tendency to serve more as a bar to the rise of a second dictator than as an outline providing for an effective, decisive government. Afrifa called for amendments to strengthen the hand of the prime minister and to limit the possibility of conflict between prime minister and president. His criticism was immediately attacked by the Progress Party on the grounds that the tone of the Constitution had been set by the NLC, of which he had been one of the most influential members.

In the presidential election by the special electoral college, composed of all members of the National Assembly and twenty-four representatives of the regional houses of chiefs, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Edward Akufo-Addo, was elected president by a large majority. He had been an important figure in the early independence movement who had been dismissed from his court post by Nkrumah in 1964, and he had presided over the drafting of the new Constitution. All thirty-five votes of the opposition members in the assembly went to the lone rival candidate. The new president was sworn in immediately but was hospitalized before his formal inaugural and remained incapacitated in a London hospital for several months. In accordance with the constitutional provisions, his place was taken by the speaker of the National Assembly. This left authority largely in the hands of the prime minister.

In October 1970 three of the four opposition parties represented in the National Assembly merged to form the Justice Party. The People's Action Party, with two seats and all of its support from among the small Nzema group, declined to join in the unity effort, as did the newly formed Labor Party and the Marxist group, the Peoples' Popular Party. Numerically the merger had little effect in the assembly since two of the groups merging had a total of only three seats. The merger, however, did bring into the major group the experienced leadership of Appiah as chairman; moreover, it provided a party with more of a national style and organization than the NAL, which was open to accusations of being a regional and ethnic party because of the high proportion of Ewe in its parliamentary representation and leadership. Appiah did not hold an assembly seat and, as part of the agreement to merge, Madjitey remained the official leader of the opposition.

POLITICAL ISSUES

The major issues facing the Busia government resulted from the country's economic difficulties (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations; ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). The government had felt constrained to deal with the problem by continuing measures, begun under the NLC, to end inflation and reduce imports. As a result of its measures, significant portions of the population suffered hardships. The NLC had made cutbacks in the staffs of the civil service and the state enterprises inflated by Nkrumah to provide jobs for his supporters. More than 64,000 such jobs had been abolished by the time the Busia government took office. Because of this reduction and the general slowdown in the economy, registered unemployment stood as high as one-third of the labor force in Accra, and total unemployment by late 1970 was estimated as between 350,000 and 600,000. The government was faced with the knowledge that, although the measures it was taking were necessary for economic survival, they were alienating very large numbers of the electorate.

Despite strong efforts, the prices of consumer goods remained inflated. Unions in nearly every industry staged large numbers of strikes, many of them wildcat walkouts, not only to protest reductions in staff but also to demand an increased minimum wage and economic relief. A number of the strikes involved violence, sabotage, and major economic losses, further challenging the government's ability to tame the economy.

Those suffering from unemployment and inflation were susceptible to criticism of the government's decision to increase the wages of government employees while refusing industrial workers a minimum daily wage of N₵1 (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary). The opposition and the *Legon Observer* also accused high government officials of personal extravagance, excessive overseas travel, and the wasting of government funds on luxury vehicles. The critics of travel overseas made a major point of attacking study tours to the United States funded by the United States government.

POLICY ATTITUDES OF THE OPPOSITION

The Justice Party and the three earlier organizations that had united to form it were strongly committed to the democratic system. The party saw its main role as providing an effective alternative to the policies of the ruling Progress Party so as to maintain popular confidence in a competitive party system.

Although the Justice Party's basic policies did not differ significantly from those of the government, it did attempt to stress the importance of the government's role, rather than that of limited local private enterprise, in economic development. The ruling Progress Party emphasized the need for development in the rural areas, both to slow the movement of population to the cities and to redress the regional imbalance in the levels of development. Such an emphasis would also have the result of strengthening the Progress Party's hold on many rural areas. The Justice Party, with more support in the developed south and more hope for appeal to urban wage earners, put its emphasis on improving the position of workers.

The Justice Party had not committed itself to support of foreign capital investment, and its platform left room for abjuring payment of at least the more doubtful of the debts of the Nkrumah era. In this it shared common ground with some of the younger leaders of the Progress Party. This attitude grew more popular as debt payments became harder to meet. The opposition criticized the measures by which the government brought about the flight of noncitizens, the Aliens Registration Compliance Order of 1969 and the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act of 1970, as "ill conceived and poorly executed." The party's leadership supported a policy of putting all sectors of the economy, except those requiring large-scale foreign capital investment or technical and managerial skills, in Ghanaian hands and therefore did not criticize the aims of these pieces of legislation but attempted to make a political issue of the ill-will caused in neighboring states.

The Justice Party also supported policies for increasing inter-African trade and multinational development planning for the region similar to those envisioned by the governing party—that is, a West African economic community or an economic union with the neighboring Entente states. It conflicted with the Progress Party, however, in its attitude toward contacts with South Africa, strongly rejecting the ideas of a dialogue with the South African government (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

Three other political parties were functioning in early 1971, all of very limited size. One, the Labor Party, was newly formed. Another, the People's Action Party, appealed only to members of the small Nzema group from which Nkrumah came. The third, the People's Popular Party, a Marxist-Leninist group with very little popular appeal, was apparently not affiliated with any international Communist movement but presented a strongly anticapitalist line. It was banned from competing in the 1969 elections by the NLC on the grounds of the party's ties to Nkrumah and the defunct CPP, although the party denied that such ties existed.

POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS AND ETHNICITY

A detailed analysis of elections before 1960, Dennis Austin's *Politics in Ghana,* showed that political alignments tend to form along purely local (clan and village) cleavages and reflect local interests and antipathies rather than general ethnic ones. Permanently binding political allegiance could be discerned only at the local level. Of the larger entities, only the Ashanti—proud of their tradition, regarding themselves as a nation even before the arrival of the British, and sharing a common interest in cocoa production—could be accurately described as forming a relatively permanent ethnic political bloc.

Ethnic groupings (defined in terms of language and common culture) vary substantially in their degree of self-consciousness and cohesiveness (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Thus a large cluster of related peoples, such as the Akan (which includes the Ashanti and many other ethnic groups), has formed a bloc in national politics only temporarily. To the extent that the political alignments of components of the Akan cluster or of other groupings are based on ethnic considerations, they refer to smaller ethnic units. In any case, political alignments are also significantly affected by nonethnic factors.

Preliminary analysis of alignments in the 1969 elections suggests the temporary and shifting character of ethnic bloc formation. In the elections, blocs seemed to have formed among Akan clusters on the one hand and the Ewe on the other. Local candidates of the Progress Party in Akan areas strengthened their own positions by convincing the voters in their districts that the NAL was a party only for Ewe. This campaign effort was effective in that no seats went to the NAL in Akan areas, but the Progress Party did not gain the allegiance of all Akan groups—three minor parties won seats in Akan areas. The strongest support was given the Progress Party by two Akan ethnic groups—the Ashanti and the Boron—which had been bitterly divided in earlier elections, and there was no reason to believe that their 1969 alliance was permanent. In general, the Akan, despite their common traditional culture and social structure, are a large and varied cluster of peoples. There is a long tradition of intra-Akan conflict, and the components of the Akan cluster are characterized by different degrees of modernization and conflicting economic interests.

Although the NAL did win many of their seats in Ewe areas, Ewe constituencies gave two seats to the Progress Party, reflecting a strong and lasting intra-Ewe division, and the majority of the NAL seats were won in other areas. In the north, comparatively undeveloped and traditional, the votes were divided among a number of parties and independent candidates.

POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

The electorate is composed of people of many ethnic groups, differing in language, religion, and culture. Although all groups are members of a limited number of larger ethnic divisions, little allegiance has been given to the larger units with few and minor exceptions (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Primary loyalty for most of the people went to one of a hundred smaller groups and most often to a local segment or community in that group. Most Ghanaians are country people with a few years of primary schooling at most, living close to the land, steeped in local traditions, and preoccupied with affairs of the family and their own small communities and neighbors.

Such concern with family and local affairs extends even to the most highly educated and modernized sectors of the elite, although among the more educated and urbanized other factors may play an important role. Even among the elite, those with broad national outlooks are in a minority. Their proportion has grown rapidly, however, and their influence far exceeds their numbers. Control over the government is exercised by persons with nationalistic attitudes, although for many of them political decisionmaking must be a balance between national and local or ethnic group sentiments.

PATTERNS OF ALLEGIANCE

Particularly among the rural majority who continue to live in terms of modified versions of traditional systems but even among educated city dwellers, primary loyalties are centered in the family, lineage, local community and, more rarely, the larger ethnic group. The sense of nationhood emerges among ordinary Ghanaians only when they are made aware of the country's relations with other states or when they meet other Africans or non-Africans. Only a minority of the well educated have a strong sense of Ghanaian nationality.

Wherever he goes, an individual is bound by ties to his village and lineage and recognizes as paramount an obligation to help members of the unit from which he comes. Often associated with this allegiance to his descent group and local community may be hostility to neighboring units, even if these are part of the same chiefdom or ethnic group. Sometimes, in urban centers or other places where inhabitants of the same village cannot be found, the scope of the primary bond is extended to persons of the same ethnic group. Although there are exceptions, the significance of kinship, locality, and ethnicity persists despite intermingling in schools, urban centers, and employment.

One element contributing to the persistence of these bonds is the role of the chief. The significance of chieftainship varies from one group to another, but the chief is often a symbol of the group to which one belongs. A chief may be disliked by some, or there may be disputes over succession to the chieftainship, but there is no significant dispute among most Ghanaians about the office itself. The secular power of the chief was all but destroyed during the Nkrumah era, but his ritual significance remains, and the chief retains a varying, but in many cases substantial, degree of at least indirect political influence.

Origins of Nationalism

Nationalism originated among a small group of politically conscious educated persons as a reaction to the paternalism and racism they encountered under colonial rule. Although the earliest manifestations of nationalism occurred among the highly educated in the first decades of the twentieth century, a single political party, Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP), created and carried out the successful drive to independence in the years after World War II (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

Rejecting the earlier ideas of British tutelage and partnership, the CPP fired the imagination of urban workers and younger persons with a limited education behind the rallying cry of "Freedom Now!" Stressing simplified images of colonial oppression and of material and social advantages sure to accrue from control of their own government, the CPP succeeded in building a rudimentary sense of nationalism. Although at first little more than a negative reaction to colonialism and rarely fully understood, the creation of a nation became a widely accepted goal, at least in the country's more urbanized southern areas.

Among these same politicized peoples, a feeling of racial identity as Africans developed as a result of the common experience of opposition to colonial rule, which dominated information channels throughout Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Nkrumah made pan-Africanism a major plank in his political platform and greatly strengthened the sentiments of national unity and pride by stressing Ghana's leadership in bringing independence to the rest of Africa. He made the electorate proud of the fact that Ghana had become the first black African country to free itself of colonial rule, that its success served as an example for the rest of the continent's colonies, and that he and his country were recognized as leaders of the pan-Africanist movement, a movement that made Ghana and Africa greater forces in world affairs.

Sociopolitical Divisions

The political cleavage in Ghanaian society during the early part of the Nkrumah period (1953-60) fell along ethnic and other lines. One major cleavage resulted from modern influences that coincidentally affected the coastal and interior ethnic groups to differing degrees. Thus the peoples of the old Gold Coast Colony—the Ga, Fante, Akuapem, Nzema, and a part of the Ewe—had received more exposure to modernization through education, commerce, and effective administration than the peoples of the country's interior, including the Ashanti and the peoples of the northern territories. This division, however, was not a simple one. First, a modernized nucleus existed even among the traditional Ashanti; some had become urbanized, including the ethnically mixed peoples of Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. Second, social and cultural modernization and modern economic power did not coincide. The wealthiest indigenous elements of the population were the rural Ashanti cocoa farmers. Third, the more Westernized coastal groups were themselves often only superficially or incompletely affected by modern political ideas. They remained actively or potentially divided by ethnic cleavages. The most important division, in fact, was the split within the modernized peoples along socioeducational lines.

By 1950 three distinct, politically conscious elite groups were discernible. One was the traditionalist elite of chiefs, elders, and their leading supporters who had little contact with Western social or political ideas. Diametrically opposed to them were the Anglo-Ghanaian intellectuals, most of them coastal people from areas with as much as four centuries of contact with the West. This group included many doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, a few of whom were second- and even third-generation university graduates. They looked upon themselves, and were at first looked upon by the colonial government, as the logical successors to the British to rule the country by right of their social, professional, and educational experiences.

The third elite was peculiar to Ghana among all African countries. The members were of the lower ranks of the urban society, those with some acquaintance with modern ideas acquired through urbanization or minimal education. They had at most eight years of schooling, but the group included many uneducated men. They were banded into local youth societies throughout Ashanti and the colony. Unable or unwilling to rise in the traditional structure, they were also barred from entry into the upper ranks of the Anglo-Ghanaian elite by their lack of educational and social credentials. They were referred to as "youngmen," literally those who were not (tribal) elders, or disparagingly as "verandah boys" without a house to sleep in, which was the actual case for the large number of urban unemployed. This was the group on which Nkrumah built his political organization, the CPP. It dominated the CPP until Nkrumah succeeded in concentrating power in his own hands.

Nkrumah provided leadership and direction to these people, enabling them to recognize that through their greater numbers and their energy they would be able to displace the intellectuals and chiefs. By gaining power for themselves they would fulfill their otherwise frustrated personal ambitions through the new outlet of politics. They would be able to hasten greater modernization and to ensure that the benefit of change would accrue to the majority of the population. Although described as an elite because they had a degree of politicization, these people were primarily populist, favoring control over political power by the popular majority. They easily accepted the Socialist ideas and mass party techniques imported from the developed countries by Nkrumah and his advisers.

They also drew heavily, however, on the *asafo* and similar traditions among the Akan and other peoples of southern Ghana. The *asafo* companies were initially fighting units, but the term came to be used for organizations of the younger men who banded together to form a bloc in opposition to the established rule of the chiefs and elders. Although of traditional origin, the *asafo* companies reached their zenith during the early years of colonial rule because of the weakening of the powers of the chiefs that outside interference brought. This tendency was ended during the 1920s and 1930s when the British moved to strengthen the power of the chiefs so that they might serve as local representatives for the colonial administration.

Before 1948 the conflict in Ghanaian society had largely been between the traditionalists and the intellectuals. The chiefs saw the highly educated lawyers and businessmen as rivals for control over the central government and as responsible for the weakening of popular loyalty to traditional ideas. The intellectuals regarded the chiefs as perpetuators of the country's social and economic backwardness. By the end of World War II, however, the two groups had begun to join together. Particularly after 1953, their common opposition to the rise of the CPP forced them into an alliance, to which the intellectuals brought an ability in modern politics and the traditionalists brought numerical support and financial backing. By 1956 a third group of opponents of Nkrumah had also begun to appear—those members of the lower elite who had broken with the CPP. The reasons for their defection in this early period varied. Some were opposed to the party philosophy or its demands for centralized control; others were antagonized by the CPP's failures to appoint them or fellow members of their regional or ethnic interest groups to positions of power in the party or government.

The National Liberation Movement (NLM) was formed after the various small group-interest parties failed to make a significant dent in the CPP's power in the elections of the early 1950s. The NLM was not able to unite all of the opposition and had only limited success in the crucial 1956 elections. It was replaced by the United Party (UP) which comprised nearly all of the CPP's early opponents but which remained largely untested at the polls as no further national elections were held. The full weight of the government's power was brought to bear on the United Party leaders, both traditionalists and intellectuals, effectively crushing the political potential of both.

Changes of Attitude Toward Nkrumah

The period between 1960 and 1966 was marked by arbitrary rule, the use of coercive powers, and devastating economic deterioration. Chiefs who opposed the CPP were deposed and replaced by more amenable members of the ruling lineages. Intellectuals and others were cowed into silence, if not submission, by the threat of detention or the loss of jobs, although another major factor hindering protest was the traditional respect for authority among some groups that made many people hesitant to challenge any legitimate authority. The allegiance of party stalwarts was cultivated by the granting of thousands of appointive posts in the government, state-owned corporations, and CPP-affiliated voluntary organizations, such as the Trade Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmer's Cooperative Council, and the National Council of Ghanaian Women.

Nkrumah used his skills as a party politician to placate and silence elements that might otherwise have grown dissatisfied with the division of spoils. Gradually, however, as the economy weakened and as Nkrumah resorted increasingly to the suppression of his opponents and potential opponents, he lost the support even of the majority of those who had been his strongest adherents, who had believed that his leadership and the

CPP's organizational work would improve the lot of all sectors of the population. As these persons withdrew their support from the CPP, they joined the ranks of the latent opposition to which the old intellectual and traditionalist elites already belonged.

In addition to losing civilian support, Nkrumah brought about his downfall directly by antagonizing the armed forces and police. The military and police officers who overthrew Nkrumah in February 1966 were moved by the same factors—economic and political—that brought opposition to his rule among the civilian population. This opposition had grown so rapidly that the coup was almost totally unopposed. In addition, the military resented nonprofessional interference, the CPP's attempts to replace the British-style esprit de corps with political philosophies, and the creation of rival security forces in the form of the Soviet-trained presidential bodyguards (see ch. 12, National Security).

Although even the coup leaders long expected opposition from the dispossessed members of the large CPP bureaucracy, none emerged. The numerous officeholders and ex-officeholders were expected to become a major force in politics after parties were allowed to re-form, but five years after the coup Nkrumahism without Nkrumah had not appeared.

Post-Nkrumah Attitudes Toward the Convention Peoples Party

Nkrumah's overthrow had been greeted with almost universal jubilation throughout the country. The party hierarchy had dissolved in the face of the popular reaction. The NLC almost immediately struck a conciliatory attitude toward all but a handful of the ex-CPP leaders. In June 1966, less than four months after the coup, the NLC's chairman, General Ankrah, delivered a major policy speech in which he said "This is the time for us to foster the spirit of national unity and conciliation, especially in our attitudes toward former members of the CPP." Although those important leaders actually guilty of crimes were to be tried before the courts, the government did not seek, nor would it allow others to seek, vengeance against the former CPP members.

All Ghanaians were urged to welcome back those who had been swayed away by Nkrumah's doctrines so that they might contribute to the rebuilding of the nation. J. W. R. Harlley, one of the NLC's major leaders, expressed strong sympathy for the ex-CPP officials, particularly those who had broken with Nkrumah before the coup, because he felt that their progressive ideas were needed for the country's development. He supported their bids for reentry into politics, particularly in the case of Gbedemah.

Other Ghanaians felt less inclined to forget what they had suffered under the CPP. A group of prominent leaders of the CPP, including some who had been jailed by Nkrumah, were released from detainment by the NLC a few months after the coup but had to be taken back into custody to protect them from vengeance seekers. Many of the CPP's older opponents, the traditionalists and intellectuals who had led the old United Party, had suffered imprisonment, exile, or long years of oppression at the hands of the CPP. They were opposed to any renewal of political activity by ex-CPP members, even those who had deserted Nkrumah before the end. They particularly disliked Gbedemah, whom they remembered best as the engineer of the CPP victory at the polls in 1956 and the party's chief organizational genius.

Members of the NLC expressed concern over the ability of the older politicians to alter their own views expressed while in opposition, particularly those favoring regionalism, and to meet the enormous challenges of the post-Nkrumah era with the basically conservative philosophy they had expressed in the 1950s. As a number of observers had pointed out, however, the attitudes then expressed were tactical, part of the political platform adopted to oppose the CPP, and did not necessarily represent the policies to which they would turn if given the helm, particularly after a decade out of the limelight.

The NLC remained worried about the exclusion of the CPP members, however, since it would deprive the country of such a significant portion of its able leaders. In efforts reportedly led by Harlley, the NLC revoked the Public Office Disqualification Decree, which had proscribed political activity by 325 former CPP officials selected by an independent judicial commission, and replaced it with a list of only 152 key officials, the majority of whom had been accused of corrupt practices. Retention of the longer original list would have meant that the government could not turn for support to many competent men, including important ethnic leaders, the head of the Trade Union Congress, and its own ambassador to Nigeria.

Attitudes Toward Military Rule

By the end of 1966 Ghanaians had begun to express the desire for a return to civilian rule, despite their appreciation of the NLC's role in overthrowing Nkrumah. These expressions came from all levels of society—from the newly returned political exiles eager to demonstrate that they were capable of running the country and even from local elements who wanted to take advantage of a new atmosphere of freedom to express themselves as they had never been able to do under Nkrumah.

The members of the NLC expressed the belief that military intervention in the country's political life was at best a painful necessity to be regretted. All members of the NLC recognized their own inadequacies in regard to the administration of a civilian government and as a substitute for popular representation. They took steps to remedy the first problem by bringing the civil service into the government machinery, allowing senior civil servants considerable decisionmaking power under only the limited control of a member of the NLC.

As early as June 1966 the NLC began including certain politicians in the policy-making process by creating the advisory Political Committee under the chairmanship of Busia. It also began preparing the country for an eventual return to popular control by fostering the creation of the national Center for Civic Education, whose task it was to prepare the country's voters for a return to elected leadership. Freedom of the press, even freedom to criticize the NLC, began to be allowed at an early date.

Despite its willingness to withdraw from power and to turn the government over to the civilians, the armed forces remained a major, if latent, political factor. Lieutenant General E. K. Kotoka, the coup leader, stated before his death that the army would be moved to act again if the government failed in its duties to ensure democracy, progress, and economic stability, although the army might be deterred from doing so if it felt it would not have the support of the civil service, since it could not administer the country itself.

Other central figures in the coup and the NLC remained active in politics in 1970. Brigadier Afrifa, promoted to the rank of lieutenant general when the Presidential Commission was dissolved, was a particularly popular figure and became a member of the important Council of State (see ch. 8, The Governmental System). Both he and General Ocran, promoted to the rank of lieutenant general at the same time, were outspoken. As a private citizen Ocran filed suit to force members of Parliament to comply with the constitutional requirement that they declare their assets upon election, in order to prevent them from taking advantage of their positions to grow rich while in office (see ch. 12, National Security).

Popular Attitudes Toward the Political Process

Many observers have commented on the Ghanaian penchant for politics and its rich endowment in politicians and would-be politicians. No less than sixteen political parties made their appearance when parties were again legalized in 1969. Despite the importance of the traditional deference to authority, among most Akan peoples political factionalism was a finely practiced art in precolonial society, and the Ewe have always functioned under the leadership of tribal councils rather than chiefs.

Despite this widespread interest in politics as a profession, surveys indicated that most of the population by the late 1960s looked at politicians with a skeptical eye, and many saw military rule as having the positive benefit of preventing government by contesting politicians. For many Ghanaians, democracy meant not so much parliamentary government as freedom of the individual. The corruption and inefficiency of the Nkrumah period resulted in not only widespread alienation from the CPP but also the growth of doubt about the effectiveness of elections to produce the best leaders. This skepticism became a major factor in all attitudes toward governments and was little affected by the subsequent changes in the governmental system. No matter how popular the NLC and the successor Busia government may have been at the outset, their members' motives and actions were suspected. For this reason little popular surprise was expressed concerning the disclosure in April 1969 that the NLC's chairman, General Ankrah, had been forced into retirement after an investigation revealed that he had accepted money from foreign firms in order to finance his own political plans.

According to the influential *Legon Observer,* Ghanaian politicians tend to think of political parties and offices as investment ventures, which provide members and holders with personal opportunities for economic and social gain when power is achieved, with most of the rewards going to the party leadership. The journal has stated that politically conscious Ghanaians can be divided into two groups—those who do not believe in the good intentions voiced by politicians and those who are prepared to accept their sincerity until shown otherwise.

Attitudes of the Younger Generation

Control within the CPP was structured to ensure domination by the party's senior members, effectively depriving any younger members of major impact. Nkrumah and the CPP were never able to attract the educated Ghanaians, including the schoolteachers. The CPP failed in its efforts to propagandize the students in the country's high schools and universities.

Both students and faculty at the University of Ghana had approved the overthrow of Nkrumah. In a survey in 1966, after the coup, 96 percent of the students felt that the NLC had the support of the majority of Ghanaians, and 93 percent gave its policies and actions their personal support. When surveyed in 1963, less than 44 percent of the students had believed that the CPP had the support of the majority of the population. Many of the faculty, overtly apolitical under Nkrumah, accepted important advisory positions in the NLC government.

Immediately after the coup, a large number of faculty members formed the Legon Society on National Affairs "to help demolish the Nkrumah myth and to assist the NLC in every way." The society and its journal, the *Legon Observer,* were still active in 1971. The journal was a major voice of independent political criticism in the country. It generally supported the government but freely attacked anything that it felt might threaten the democratic system.

The Progress Party's top leadership was composed of men who were hero figures to those who had opposed Nkrumah. In addition, Prime Minister Busia and some others were intellectuals with a particular personal appeal to the university students. On the whole, however, this initial attractiveness was offset by the fact that the party's top leadership was composed very largely of older men who had been politically prominent in the 1940s and 1950s.

The expansion of educational opportunities launched by Nkrumah had, in the intervening years, produced a new group of young men, including about 1 million elementary school graduates and more than 20,000 with a college-level education in a total population of 8.5 million. The existence of this new bloc of educated voters made for major differences from the political situation of the earlier period, when the country's politically conscious people had been divided between Nkrumah's commoners and the opposition's intellectuals. The huge new group of school leavers more than doubled the size of the potential industrial and commercial work force, creating an enormous employment problem, and the graduates, particularly the university graduates, constituted a new generation of educated voters, much better informed and with higher expectations. Prime Minister Busia took advantage of the skills and energies of this younger educated group and provided some outlet for its political involvement by appointing as many as possible to political and advisory posts in the government, including twenty-seven parliamentary secretarial posts.

CHAPTER 10

FOREIGN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In its orientation toward foreign affairs the government in early 1971 had to take into account a number of relationships originated by previous governments, particularly the government of Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah had committed the country to a pan-Africanist ideology, which included an uncompromising form of unification of all African states as well as the removal of all of what he saw as neocolonialist influences from the continent, even if this required efforts to subvert the governments of independent states. He also adhered to a policy of nonalignment but one in which the Western powers alone were seen as potential threats to Africa's political and economic freedom (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The major change in general policy was a decision to give priority to domestic affairs and needs. Another was to seek practical, rather than ideological, ties to other African states. A consequence of Nkrumah's removal and the new priorities was loss of leadership in intra-African affairs.

The steps of the National Liberation Council (NLC) in realigning foreign relations after Nkrumah's overthrow were carried out largely in reaction to his policies. Most notable among the NLC's moves was the reversal of the inclination toward closer ties to the Communist world and a turning westward again for political inspiration and economic support.

The NLC's early moves were partially motivated by a desire for support against external threats, which, it believed, would be presented by Communist and other pro-Nkrumah foreign forces. After 1968, and particularly in late 1969, under the government formed by Prime Minister K. A. Busia, the pendulum swung back as the country moved toward a middle position of formal nonalignment, which the foreign minister described as enabling Ghana to steer clear of the two main ideological blocs.

The country's position in intra-African affairs changed markedly after Nkrumah's fall. He had inspired some of the leaders of the states of Africa and antagonized others. The successor governments were at first unable to establish friendly relations with governments headed by men who had admired Nkrumah as a major leader of pan-African unity. On the other hand, relations with states that had feared Nkrumah, particularly among Ghana's West African neighbors, improved markedly. In early 1971 only one member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—Guinea—continued to support Nkrumah.

Of greater ultimate impact was the country's international economic position. Nkrumah's foreign policy had been formulated in a period when Ghana appeared economically able to afford those options that it saw fit to pursue. The NLC and the civilian government of the second republic on the contrary were faced with staggering international debts accumulated under Nkrumah's unrealistic internal and external policies. In 1970 the foreign debt was estimated to amount to the equivalent of US$800 million, one of the highest levels of debt in proportion to the gross national product (GNP) in the world. Much of it was due under unfavorable short terms, and an estimated 80 percent of it was due to suppliers in Western Europe. Many of the debts were of a questionable nature, incurred without reference to need and inflated by illegal procedures. Nevertheless, the NLC and the civilian government had pledged themselves to honor the debts of the Nkrumah era because the country is particularly dependent upon its favorable foreign economic relations.

The government's strict austerity measures to counter the balance of payments crisis resulted in widespread unemployment and higher retail costs. Considerable popular hostility developed toward the involvement of foreign firms in the economy because they were accused of having been the major contributors to the financial degradation that led to the collapse of the country's economy under Nkrumah. Foreign companies, even United States firms that had not previously been involved in Ghana, had to take great care to avoid arousing popular resentment.

Another factor affecting foreign relations was the government's efforts in 1969 and 1970 to expel many noncitizens in order to ease the unemployment problem. The vast majority of these people, who constituted one-eighth of the population in 1960, were citizens of other West African countries who had been allowed to enter and freely settle in Ghana since the colonial era (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Their flight to their countries of origin created ill-will in some neighboring states.

Finally, by late 1970, the policy of honoring the foreign debts accumulated under Nkrumah was being sharply questioned, particularly because the conferences to ease the burden had not resulted in any popularly perceived improvements in the country's economic position.

MAJOR ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

In 1970 the government of Prime Minister Busia placed major emphasis on its adherence to the doctrine of political neutrality, which it saw as preserving its right to make its own judgments and to come to its own decisions without undue influence from East or West. The government stressed that in all cases paramount considerations would be given to Ghana's own interest, in marked contrast to Nkrumah's stated policy of putting pan-African consideration first. Friendly relations were to be sought with all countries, but the emphasis was to be placed on relations with those countries geographically closest to Ghana. In principle, first priority was to be given to the development of the closest possible economic, political, and cultural relations with the states with which the country shared common frontiers. Next in importance were to be links to more distant neighbors within West Africa. The government was dedicated to participating fully in efforts to forge a West African economic community.

A third level of relations were those with Africa generally. The government took an active part in the workings of the OAU in order to foster continental unity and economic cooperation, including support for liberation movements in the remaining colonial territories. The unity it supported was a unity between sovereign states, not an amalgamation into a United States of Africa, which Nkrumah had sought. In addition, Prime Minister Busia expressed a willingness to seek nonviolent means to achieve African self-government in southern Africa. This position, however, met opposition even within the cabinet.

In its relations with non-Africans, the government sought to retain and strengthen ties with those countries outside Africa with which it had common cultural or economic interests. Most notable in this context was the country's strong link to the multinational and multiracial British Commonwealth of Nations. Relations with the United States in 1970 were good because that country was not a major creditor and offered financial and technical assistance under conditions satisfactory to Ghana.

The country sought friendly relations with all other states, including Communist states, but generally excluding South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia. By maintaining ties with this outer ring of states, the government saw itself as bolstering the country's political neutrality and extending and diversifying the potential market for its products.

The implementation of this conception of priorities in foreign relations was difficult in the late 1960s and in 1970 because Ghana's major immediate task was to export its products, primarily to markets in developed countries, and its most pressing problem was to settle its huge foreign debt, owed largely to developed countries.

Because of these limitations, major priority was given to relations with the states of Western and Communist Europe. This reduced the amount of energy the government could direct toward other questions to which it would have preferred to give priority, particularly intra-African affairs.

Because payment of the external debts slowed internal economic development and Ghanaians strongly opposed foreign domination of any kind, the debts and the negotiations to reduce them were major popular issues that played an important part in internal politics and stability. In particular, a growing number of political leaders of the opposition and of the younger ranks of the party in power demanded that the government denounce part or all of the debts incurred by the Nkrumah government (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

Another major popular issue was the question of foreign influence over the economy. The breadth of the feeling was illustrated by the so-called "Abbott affair" in late 1967. A United States pharmaceutical company, Abbott Laboratories, was the successful bidder in the government sale of a Hungarian-built pharmaceutical plant, originally constructed for one of Nkrumah's state enterprises. Eager to get the plant into operation to reduce imports, the NLC accepted Abbotts' offer to supply half the equity capital; the NLC was to supply the other half of the capital plus the plant. Although the government supplied the other half, Abbott was to control the plant management and a majority of seats on the board of directors. Opponents of the NLC of all persuasions castigated this decision as another example of foreign domination and objected vigorously enough to cause a political crisis, which continued even after Abbott withdrew from the contract.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND DIPLOMATIC TIES

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the period 1969–70 was headed by Victor Owusu, a former attorney general and a major political figure. In early 1971 he returned to the attorney-generalship, being replaced by the former minister of education, William Ofori-Attah. The minister was assisted by an appointed ministerial secretary, and a permanent secretary held the senior civil service post. The ministry was organized into eight departments, each headed by a director. One department handled research and policy planning. The others were: the Europe and America Department; the Africa, Middle East, and Asia Department; the International Organizations and Conferences Department; the Economic Affairs Department; the Overseas Information Department; the Legal and Consular Department; and the Administration Department. In addition there was a separate inspectorate division and an office of the chief of protocol. Although the ministry had a department concerned with economic affairs, important discussions of foreign economic affairs, notably the negotiations concerning the country's debts, were carried out primarily by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

For reasons of economy, the very large overseas representation of the Nkrumah era has been reduced, but it was still very large by the standards of other African countries. The most important post was that in London, where a staff of thirty-four was stationed, reflecting both the strong trade and cultural ties to Britain and the number of Ghanaians resident as students or in other capacities in that country. The overseas posts in 1970 included thirty-four embassies in other African countries, nine posts in Western Europe, three in Eastern Europe (including Yugoslavia), four in the Far East (including Australia), five in the Americas, and three in the Middle East (including both Israel and Egypt).

There were also missions to the United Nations in New York and in Geneva. Forty-six countries had embassies in Accra, and seven other accredited ambassadors were resident in other West African countires. The ambassadors in Accra included sixteen from African states and six from Eastern Europe.

Ghana's ambassadors overseas included two women, in Copenhagen and Rome. The large number of Ghanaians serving on international organization staffs was clearly disproportionate to the country's small size and level of development. Ghanaians have served as president of the African Civil Aviation Commission, secretary general of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and deputy secretary general of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Others have served in high posts in many significant United Nations bodies.

In the early 1960s in particular, reflective of Ghana's comparatively advanced standards of education, many Ghanaians served in technical, judicial, and educational posts in other African countries, and a number, including Prime Minister

Busia, held posts in European and American universities. In part, the large number of Ghanaians working for international bodies or foreign governments reflected the exile, voluntary or forced, of Ghanaian intellectuals from life under Nkrumah. The number of intra-African and international bodies with headquarters or regional offices in Accra was substantial in the Nkrumah period but declined in the late 1960s, although at least one, the African regional office of the World Assembly of Youth, opened an office there in 1970.

REGIONAL AND PAN-AFRICAN RELATIONS

Within West Africa the country's traditional ties were strongest with the other English-speaking states, particularly Nigeria and Sierra Leone. These links resulted from their common British colonial heritage and personal links formed during the period of development of nationalism. Nigeria's first president, for example, had been an influential nationalist newspaper editor in Ghana in the 1930s (see ch. 3, Historical Setting).

The deterioration of relations with these states that occurred during the Nkrumah era, as a result of his hostility to their leaders, ceased with his overthrow. His successors had established personal ties with most of the leaders of Nigeria's military government while they were attending military schools in Ghana. Many other leaders and high civil servants from Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone were schoolmates at British universities. The NLC's first chairman, General Ankrah, played a vital part in early efforts to mediate the crisis that led to the Biafran civil war. During the long period of crisis in Nigeria between 1966 and 1970, the government of Ghana gave full support to the Nigerian efforts to keep their country united. Some deterioration of relations between the two countries occurred in 1970, however, when the Ghanaian government began expelling aliens from Ghana.

Regional Organization

Since 1968 Ghana's major foreign policy effort within Africa has been the strengthening of relations with the French-speaking states of West Africa. Despite cultural, political, economic, and language differences that developed during, and as a result of, the colonial era, Ghana had strong natural affinities with the states on her borders. All three—the Ivory Coast, Togo, and Upper Volta—were states formerly under French colonial control. Ethnic groups overlapped all three borders. The most politically significant of these were the Ewe, centered on the Togo frontier. At the time of independence some displayed a hostility toward absorption into a unified Ghanaian nation and an interest in unity with their fellows in French Togo to create an Ewe-dominated state.

Ties on the other frontiers were largely the result of geography. Upper Volta is a poor, landlocked country whose trade must pass through either Ghana or the Ivory Coast to reach world markets. In addition, workers from Upper Volta had always sought wage labor on contract in its two richer neighboring countries. The Ivory Coast-Ghana frontier is laid out in such a way as to leave some portions of Ghana with readier access to markets in the Ivory Coast. Because of this and because the border is poorly marked and tribal languages are understood on both sides, wholesale smuggling, even of entire local crops, has become a major problem. A similar smuggling problem has always plagued the Ghana-Togo frontier, where it is exacerbated by the fact that Togo's capital city and chief port is almost directly on the frontier. In both cases smuggling has been encouraged by differences in customs rates and taxes.

Relations with the Ivory Coast and Togo were particularly sensitive during Nkrumah's rule. Nkrumah regarded the Ivory Coast president, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, as a prime ideological opponent because of his support for foreign investment, his continuing ties to France, and his leadership of the moderate African states. In Togo, and throughout Africa, Nkrumah was widely blamed for complicity in the assassination of the country's first president, Sylvanus Olympio; some believed that Nkrumah harbored plans to assimilate the small country as a dependency or province of Ghana.

Nkrumah's successors took steps almost immediately to reopen the frontiers and to display a cooperative attitude. Leaders of Ghana and the Ivory Coast shared a common distrust of Guinea, growing in part out of that country's threats to march across the Ivory Coast in order to attack Ghana and reinstate Nkrumah. In addition, President Houphouet-Boigny was well regarded by the Ghanaian leaders, particularly by Prime Minister Busia and other political leaders who had fled into exile, because he had been a strong opponent of Nkrumah and had provided refuge and support to some of Nkrumah's opponents. Prime Minister Busia made a state visit to the Ivory Coast in May 1970, during which time he stressed the warm relations existing between the two countries and his government's strong desire to reinforce political, cultural, and economic cooperation.

The main basis for the development of ties with the French-speaking states was the desire for an economic union in West Africa, which would benefit Ghana by creating a market for the exchange of manufactured goods and by allowing a pooling of resources. A concrete step in this direction was brought about in 1968 when Togo and Dahomey signed an agreement to purchase the electricity needed for their own development from Ghana's Volta River Authority and to build transmission lines from the Akosombo power plant into Togo and Dahomey.

Ghana's next steps were toward closer ties with the neighboring states of the so-called Entente. The Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and the more distant Niger had joined this loose economic organization in 1959 under French prodding before the countries had obtained full independence, and Togo had been added in 1966. In addition to forming a customs union within the franc zone, all states, as well as other former French colonies, utilized a common currency, the CFA (Communauté Financiére Africaine—African Fiscal Community) franc. The major interests binding the Entente were close economic and political ties to France, the existence of a single major production center in the Ivory Coast, and the attractions of the Mutual Aid and Guarantee Fund which facilitated the raising and servicing of loans by the four poorer states. The relatively wealthy Ivory Coast provided the major part of the fund, in return for its dominant economic position in the group and for the market for its manufactured goods that the other states provided.

To facilitate ties to the Entente, with which Ghana could form a geographically and economically rational unit, the government of Ghana encouraged the African Development Bank to undertake a major economic study of the problems and steps involved. The study was completed in 1970. The six states held ministerial level talks in October 1970 to consider the bank's recommendations. Initially efforts were to be concentrated on the more commonly agreed upon areas of interest, such as transportation, in order to provide a starting point for broader based cooperation in the future. Ghana also took steps to develop warmer relations with France, the strongest external influence on the Entente. For this purpose, Prime Minister Busia made one of his earliest state visits a trip to Paris.

In addition to its moves for closer ties with its immediate neighbors, the country in the 1966–70 period was interested in a broader grouping of West African states. Ghana and eleven of the other thirteen countries of the West African region, stretching from Nigeria to Mauritania, signed articles of association in 1967 to establish the West African economic community. All fourteen states were represented at a conference of West African heads of state in 1968 to encourage this effort. The interim council of ministers responsible for the effort agreed on the creation of a common market as their ultimate objective.

A provisional secretariat was created, but development of the community was retarded by a number of factors. The most important was that the countries concerned obtained most of their earnings from a similar range of raw materials, for which the markets were to be found outside Africa. Moreover, as the countries concerned developed their own industry, they tended to concentrate on a similar range of manufactures. What trade there was between the West African countries was very limited and fit into patterns largely determined by firm economic ties between particular states. In 1970 only about 1.5 percent of the trade of the English-speaking countries was intraregional, and only 0.5 percent of Ghana's trade was with other African countries.

Even the creation of a customs union was hindered by the continuing economic ties to the former colonial powers. In 1970 about 50 percent of the trade of the French-speaking states was with France, for example, whereas only 3 percent of the trade of the former British colonies was so directed. Similarly, most of the French-speaking states were associate members of the European Economic Community (EEC). Only one English-speaking country had even formal links to the EEC, and these had never been made effective. Six countries had no ties to the EEC; although Ghana itself was negotiating for associate status, the terms of association were not identical. As long as such varying extraregional links were important to individual states, the creation of a meaningful and active West African common market appeared improbable.

Pan-African Attitudes

Prime Minster Busia linked the country's strong interest in the creation of regional organizations with its attitudes toward pan-African unity. Unlike the country's regional interests, this pan-Africanism is based more on ideology than economics. As a result in part of the African unity campaigns of the Nkrumah era, pan-Africanism is the foreign policy issue with which most Ghanaians are familiar, and all of the political figures express themselves as favoring unity for Africa. The prime minister has stated that regional groupings are an indispensable stage toward the realization of the ultimate goal of the unification of all Africa.

The country continued to participate in and support the OAU after Nkrumah was ousted. As a body that links all the forty-one independent states in a loose association rather than the unified continental government that Nkrumah sought, the OAU was in accord with the Ghanaian government's own attitudes toward pan-Africanism at this stage. Full use was made of the OAU as a mediator of African disputes and as a forum for intra-African consultation. Somewhat less attention was paid to it by Ghana as a spokesman on the international scene for the common interests of the African states.

Ghana was one of the few states to give full financial backing to the African Liberation Committee of the OAU, which provided diplomatic and financial support for the movements seeking to forcibly overthrow the colonial and white minority governments in southern Africa and Portuguese Guinea. The government, despite open opposition from a majority in Parliament and from many of its own members, followed the prime minister's lead by adopting a somewhat more conciliatory stance than that supported by the majority of OAU members. The government announced its readiness to carry on a dialogue with South Africa and Portugal in order to provide an opportunity for mediation between the white governments and southern Africa's black majority. Although it stated that this mediation effort was to supplement, rather than to replace, the insurgency efforts of the liberation forces, the government made clear its belief that African attacks, particularly those on South Africa, had little chance of success. In addition, the Busia government preferred a peaceful solution to one that might result in large-scale conflict, through which external powers might become involved on the African continent.

Relations with the remaining states of Africa in the 1966-70 period were primarily influenced by the attitudes of their governments toward Nkrumah or, alternatively, toward governments that came to power as a result of military coups. Relations with Tanzania, Zambia, and Uganda were broken by their governments in 1966 after the ovethrow of Nkrumah by the military. Relations were only restored after the governments recognized that Ghana's new civilian government was both firmly in power and popularly supported, and formal ties were extended in 1970 following successful visits by the Ghanaian foreign minister, Victor Owusu.

Expulsion of Aliens

In the hope of easing the burden of unemployment on Ghana's electorate and of lessening smuggling and the outflow of foreign currency remittances, the government in 1969 turned its attention to the reduction of the large number—between 1 million and 1.5 million—of foreign residents, chiefly Africans (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). This number, which represented more than 12 percent of the country's total population and an even greater percentage of the labor force, included many persons born in Ghana but not automatically eligible for citizenship.

After having warned the foreign embassies in July 1969 to arrange for the proper registration of their citizens under existing but largely unenforced laws, the government issued the Residence Permits Compliance Order in November 1969. All noncitizens were required to obtain registration certificates within a two-week period or face immediate expulsion. Only one office existed for the issuance of certificates.

The immediate result was the departure, often in haste, of large numbers of citizens of other West African countries. By February 1970 more than 100,000 had left. In mid-1970 the Nigerian government estimated that it had received 75,000 or more refugees, and equal numbers were reported arriving in Upper Volta and Togo. Smaller groups returned to Dahomey and Niger. Countries throughout West Africa were affected.

Although the numbers leaving diminished in early 1970, the coming into effect of the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act in August 1970 adversely affected the position of those remaining, particularly many Nigerians, who engaged in, and often dominated, certain aspects of petty trade.

Relations with neighboring states, particularly Nigeria, were strained as receiving countries were faced with providing transit housing and economic opportunities for the unexpected influx of peoples, many of whom had lost all contact with their places of origin. Ghana was forced to replace its high commissioner (ambassador) to Nigeria because of ill will generated by his defense of his country's actions. The neighboring states recognized Ghana's right to expel aliens but complained of adverse impact on the lives of the peoples involved. They asked it to extend the period during which aliens might organize their affairs and the home governments make provision for dealing with returning persons. Similar pleas were made by Ghanaian newspapers.

The countries closest to Ghana, particularly the three French-speaking states on its border, made strong efforts to be understanding, since they recognized that the policies of previous governments were at fault. The strength of Nigeria's reaction, however, led Prime Minister Busia to request a meeting with the Nigerian head of state, General Yakubu Gowan. After the meeting, a binational commission was created to assess the value of property that the refugees in Nigeria claimed they had been forced to abandon in Ghana.

Relations with Guinea and Mali

After Nkrumah's overthrow, Ghana developed and maintained friendly relations with all the states of West Africa except Guinea, which continued to be ruled by a government that had established close ties with Nkrumah as early as 1957. Its ideological commitment on both internal and external affairs closely paralleled that espoused by Nkrumah, although the country's leaders had come into conflict with him on a number of points. Nkrumah had been given refuge, along with about a hundred of his entourage, upon his return to Africa from Peking after his overthrow. The government of President Sekou Toure had taken the symbolic step of proclaiming Nkrumah "co-president" of Guinea and had announced that Guinea considered itself in a state of war with Ghana and intended to have its military and popular forces "march on Ghana" to reinstate Nkrumah by force. This threat was more alarming to the Ivory Coast, through which the Guineans were presumed to be planning to march, then to Ghana.

Guinea had demonstrated its enmity for Nkrumah's successors in a number of other ways, including seizing and detaining the Ghana embassy staff after the overthrow and turning Ghanaian assets in Guinea over to Nkrumah. The Ghanaians believed that the funds used to support Nkrumah in Guinea were drawn from payments due by the Guinean government on a loan made in 1957 by the Ghanaian government. The country allowed Nkrumah to use its radio stations to attempt to stir up resistance within Ghana to NLC rule, and Conakry served as the center for whatever efforts Nkrumah intended to make to overthrow the NLC.

In October 1966 the NLC retaliated by seizing four Guinean diplomats and fifteen students aboard a Pan American World Airways flight carrying them from Conakry to an OAU foreign ministers' meeting in Ethiopia. The NLC admitted that its actions appeared to be in direct violation of the norms of international law. It justified its actions by pointing out that Guinea had declared itself to be at war with Ghana and stated that the aim of the action was to obtain the release of Ghanaians held against their will in Conakry. After two weeks of pressure by the leaders of the OAU, the NLC released the Guinean travelers when their country agreed to allow OAU observers to interview the Ghanaians in Conakry and to guarantee the safe departure of those wishing to leave.

The ill will generated between the two states in 1966 continued into 1971. Guinea slowed but did not stop its stream of propaganda attacks against Ghana over its radio stations and at meetings of inter-African organizations.

Various observers have contested the exact conditions attached to Nkrumah's refuge in Guinea. Nkrumah had freedom of movement and access to communications at first. Gradually, however, his movements became restricted, either voluntarily or under governmental pressure. After 1967 he had little free contact with foreign or Ghanaian visitors. Many of the followers who came with him in 1966, most of whom were members of his large security staff, voluntarily returned to Ghana during 1968. By early 1971 he appeared to be confined in his activities and kept within the villa given to him by Sekou Toure. It was unclear whether he was under a form of house arrest or stayed there because of the security threat, heightened by the large reward for his capture still posted by the government of Ghana.

The government of Mali, which had a similar ideology and ties to Nkrumah, was overthrown by a military coup in November 1968. The chairman of the NLC, Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, made a state visit during 1969 and established friendly relations with his fellow military rulers. Relations were further strengthened by Mali's agreement to repay the large state loan that had been made by Nkrumah in 1960.

RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Ghana joined the British Commonwealth immediately after independence and, particularly during the Nkrumah years, made active use of this organization for international activities. Despite Nkrumah's hostile pronouncements, practical relations with Great Britain remained close. Britain retained its place as the country's most important source of supply and demand. Long after the civil service was Africanized and British expatriate civil servants were phased out, British advisers remained with the army, and a few British civil servants remained in positions of influence even in 1966. Relations with the British government, however, gradually became more strained; they reached a climax in Great Britain's refusal to use force to suppress the rebellion of the white colonists in Rhodesia, which was intended to ensure their permanent dominance over the African majority. Ghana broke diplomatic relations, although these were restored after Nkrumah's overthrow. Many African countries were disappointed by Great Britain's continuing failure to take action.

Some, if not all, of the members of the NLC were notably pro-British. British prestige suffered, however, from the country's inability to supply aid to Ghana because of its own economic problems and from the public knowledge that in the corruption with which its successors charged the Nkrumah regime, British subjects and corporations had been involved. The popular press also reacted strongly against the British government as a result of a high court decision not to allow the extradition to Ghana of Kwesi Armah, an unpopular Nkrumah supporter who had been charged with widescale corruption.

The return of a civilian government did little to affect relations with Britain or attitudes toward the Commonwealth. Prime Minister Busia, long resident in England as a university professor and exile, was also a strong supporter of the Commonwealth. He has stated that his support was motivated by the organization's multiracial as well as multinational character, which he saw as making it an important force for harmony between nations dominated by different races. His government's support of the Commonwealth continued despite the fact that by 1971 the advantages to members of financial aid, technical assistance, and trade preferences had largely disappeared.

Strong disagreement with Britain over southern Africa again arose in 1970. This time the disagreement came as part of the African reaction to the new British government's announcement that it would sell arms to South Africa. Prime Minister Busia urged the British to reconsider, particularly on the grounds that Britain's international stature should be given priority over considerations of the economic gains resulting from arms sales. The prime minister thought that arms sales would imply a British respect for South Africa's doctrine of racial superiority, an attitude in sharp opposition to the meaning of a multinational commonwealth. Despite such disagreements, British influence continued to be felt in every level as a result of the long years of its impact—more than 300 years in some areas.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The United States offered and provided major financial aid to Nkrumah for Ghana's largest development project, the Volta River dam and power complex. A short time before his overthrow, in contrast to his usual anti-American tones, Nkrumah strongly praised the United States for this assistance.

After it took power, the NLC looked to the United States for aid as well as for diplomatic support in the vital conferences that rescheduled payment of Ghana's foreign debts. The image of the United States was bolstered by the fact that almost none of Ghana's debt burden was due to the United States, that the United States support for the Volta River Project had been under terms beneficial to the country as well as to the investors, and that popular attitudes toward, and personal relations with, United States citizens had remained friendly.

The professional diplomats and civil servants of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs objected to positions taken by the NLC that they saw as too closely aligning Ghana with the United States on foreign policy matters. Their aim was to preserve the country's nonaligned status—an aim that they had also sought, without success, under Nkrumah. They were successful in limiting the moves of the NLC and in convincing the NLC of the wisdom of an adherence to nonalignment, as evidenced by the country's stance on international issues. For example, in only one year, 1967, did Ghana's vote in the United Nations General Assembly on the issue of the admission of Communist China follow the policy supported by the United States.

RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST POWERS

The strength of the ties with the Communist world established by Nkrumah was diminished, but the ties were generally not broken by the NLC. Only the relations with Communist China were suspended. The NLC took steps short of this, however, to limit Communist activities in the country. The East German trade mission was closed, and more than 600 Soviet technicians were expelled. At least at first, the NLC feared that Communist states, as close supporters of Nkrumah during his reign, might continue to support him after his downfall through diplomacy, support for subversion, or even military intervention.

Distrust was so widespread that Ghanaians educated in the Soviet Union, where about 600 had been studying at the time of the coup, encountered some discrimination upon their return to the country, including a refusal in certain instances to recognize the validity of their academic credentials. The majority were notably disenchanted with communism and Soviet propaganda attempts after their first-hand observations of life in the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the coup and again in 1968, the government was able to emerge the victor in diplomatic confrontations with the Communist states. In 1968 Ghana had seized the crews of two Soviet vessels in Ghanaian waters because they were suspected of supporting subversive activities on Nkrumah's behalf and of landing men and materials along the coast. The government resisted Soviet pressure for their immediate release, which included cutting off oil deliveries for Ghana's refinery, and held the men for four months.

After an initial period, however, the professional staffs of the foreign and economic ministries were able to convince the NLC that it was to the country's advantage to encourage controlled diplomatic and trade contact with the Communist states. The trade and aid agreements terminated in 1966 and

1967 were replaced by new agreements reached for renewed Soviet assistance in 1969.

East German trade offices were allowed to reopen in 1970, and the question of attempting to restore suspended relations with Communist China was actively under consideration. Ties with Yugoslavia had not been interrupted, since that country was regarded as a leader of the nonaligned states not a member of the Communist world. The Ghanaian-Soviet Friendship Society was created in 1969, but information concerning its membership and activities was not available. In 1970 Prime Minister Busia accepted a Soviet invitation to visit Moscow, although no date was set.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Foreign trade is of vital importance to the economy, particularly to the more modern sector of production, and has a significant bearing on the level of internal employment and activity. The level of earnings from cocoa exports, specifically, has a crucial impact on government revenues and development expenditure, as well as on private earnings in the agricultural sector and on the foreign exchange balance. In the 1966-68 period exports of goods and services ranged from 12 to 18 percent and imports of goods and services ranged between 16 and 17 percent of GNP.

Despite the prevalence of staple food production throughout much of the country, it has yet to achieve self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs. In certain years there are fairly heavy imports of food grains, as well as normal imports of livestock and a range of other foodstuffs. Despite, or perhaps because of, the growing sophistication of its productive structure, the economy is also dependent upon imports of primary fuels, some raw materials and, particularly, heavy imports of machinery and transport equipment. The industries developed for import substitution are themselves in most instances dependent upon imported raw materials as well as machinery.

During the first half of the 1960s the comfortable reserves of foreign exchange accumulated during earlier decades were dissipated. Export earnings from cocoa had leveled off, and the level of foreign grant aid or long-term loans on easy terms was inadequate. To finance its soaring level of imports, the Nkrumah government contracted the massive foreign debt that has since burdened the country's economy.

At the time of the coup d'etat in February 1966, current foreign exchange payments as well as interest and principal repayments on the debt were in arrears, and there had been a severe balance of payments crisis. The new government adopted a stabilization program, introduced deflationary restraints on demand and imports, and in mid-1967 devalued the currency. Despite these measures and despite a high level of cocoa earnings in 1968 and 1969, the estimated required level of imports of goods and services to keep the economy going and provide development expenditure again exceeded export earnings from goods and services. In 1969 the trade balance as well as the current balance of payments was in deficit.

Despite the improvement of economic relations with Western industrial countries after the coup, the curtailment and reorientation of worldwide foreign aid programs by the United States and some other Western countries meant that Ghana could probably still not expect massive amounts of outright grants and low-interest, long-term loans, such as would be needed to offset massive debt repayments due. The level of aid from the West and from multilateral organizations had been increased, however, and through 1970 utilization still lagged behind the amount of aid obtained. Though foreign participation in the large-scale modern sector of the economy remained important in 1970, the level of new direct foreign investment had been rather disappointing as a source of foreign exchange.

Cocoa sales to leading Western consumer countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and the Netherlands, had been favorable in price during 1968 and 1969. The international cocoa price remained highly speculative and volatile, however. Ghana's continuing efforts to achieve an international stabilization agreement on cocoa at a favorable price range had not yet borne fruit. Efforts to diversify exports had not succeeded in materially reducing reliance on earnings from cocoa exports.

In 1970 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was pursuing efforts to achieve tariff liberalizations on primary commodities, such as cocoa. The European Economic Community (EEC) had decided to lower its tariffs for cocoa beans, palm oil, and eighteen other products toward nonassociated producers, despite the protests of the eighteen Associated African Countries (Etats Africaines Membres Associés—EAMA). On this issue the Associated African Countries were actively campaigning at UNCTAD to preserve their EEC preference and thus working against the economic interests of other primary producers, such as Ghana. In this respect the economies of some of the West African states were primarily competitive with each other.

Patterns of Foreign Trade

Exports of cocoa beans alone constituted 56.6 percent of total customs exports in 1969. Exports of the four leading primary products—cocoa beans, cocoa butter, wood, and diamonds—

made up 76.5 percent of the value of exports moving through customs (recorded exports) in 1969 (see table 7). The pattern of exports recorded does not present the entire picture, however. Large quantities of cocoa, diamonds, and other products are smuggled over neighboring borders without entering customs data. Moreover, the customs data include receipts from such exports as gold bullion and aluminum that are not included in the adjusted merchandise receipts used in balance of payments reporting. Gold bullion is usually included in exports of services (invisibles) rather than in merchandise.

In the case of Ghana also, earnings from exports of aluminum accrue largely to the Volta Aluminum Company (Valco), owned by Kaiser Aluminum and Reynolds Metals, which is treated in the balance of payments as a nonresident entity. Valco's imports of alumina and exports of aluminum are excluded from the balance of payments, but their imports for investment purposes are included in merchandise imports, with offsetting credits under direct foreign investment on the capital balance. Ghana's earnings from electricity and other local expenditure of Valco, are included under receipts from "other services." If earnings on Valco's sales of aluminum since it entered operation in 1967 are not regarded as Ghanaian exports, the country's reliance on exports of primary products is probably somewhat greater than appears from the customs statistics.

In 1969 industrial products, particularly machinery and transport equipment, were far more dominant in the pattern of imports, but foodstuffs and fuels constituted a very significant share (see table 8).

The direction of trade altered briefly in 1966, when exports to and imports from Soviet-bloc countries surpassed 20 percent of the total. By 1968, however, their share had returned to its previous level of less than 10 percent, and in 1969 it was down to only 3.2 percent of total exports and 7.5 percent of imports. A comparison of 1969 with 1966 data on the direction of trade reflects chiefly the abrupt swings that can take place in the direction of cocoa exports (see table 9). Since independence the share of the United Kingdom in both imports and exports had declined radically, following the general trend in former colonies. Since the early 1960s the level of imports from the United Kingdom and Japan had remained fairly static, although imports from the EEC countries and the United States have shown an increasing trend. Reported customs imports from the United States may be somewhat misleading, however, since they may include Valco's imports of alumina from Kaiser's plant in Guinea, which is not properly a foreign exchange transaction. Imports from West Germany dipped abruptly in 1966 but by 1969 had returned to the level of the mid-1960s.

Table 7. *Recorded Exports of Principal Commodities of Ghana, 1966 and 1969*[1]

Standard international trade classification	Unit of quantity	1966		1969	
		Quantity	Value[2]	Quantity	Value[2]
Cocoa beans	metric ton	406,545	123,668	241,962	219,678[3]
Cocoa butter	.do. .	38,821	13,798	17,734	24,044
Food, livestock, and other	.do. .	—	6,040	—	6,916
Logs	thousand cubic feet	13,210	13,061	19,334	24,118
Sawn timber	.do. .	7,238	11,273	7,734	14,963
Industrial diamonds	thousand carats	1,999	13,012	2,477	13,867
Manganese ore	metric tons	588,551	14,545	324,198	7,017
Bauxite	.do. .	306,098	1,785	241,501	1,393
Aluminum and alloys (unwrought)	.do. .	—	—	128,839	43,909
Gold bullion	fine troy ounces	690,036	20,465	713,042	25,668
Other merchandise	. . .	. . .	5,309	. . .	6,204
Total exports	. . .	. . .	222,956	. . .	387,777[3]
Re-exports of foreign goods	. . .	. . .	6,716	. . .	6,839

. . . means not applicable.

— means none.

[1] Exports are valued f.o.b. (free on board) and exclude cost of insurance and freight. Re-exports are excluded, and exports of gold bullion are included.

[2] In thousand new cedi. One cedi equaled US$1.17 in 1966; in 1969 one new cedi equaled US$0.96.

[3] Revised.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1966*, Accra, 1967; and *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1969*, Accra, 1970.

Table 8. *Imports of Principal Commodities of Ghana, 1966 and 1969*[1]

Standard international trade classification	Unit of quantity	1966		1969	
		Quantity	Value[2]	Quantity	Value
Cattle	Number	61,635	5,953	66,891	7,640
Meat and products	. . .	. . .	2,552	. . .	3,394
Milk and cream	metric tons	18,229	6,029	23,622	7,879
Tinned fish[1]	.do. .	6,471	3,167	8,729	4,311
Wheat	.do. .	898	94	47,565	4,527
Rice	.do. .	48,181	7,482	28,677	6,002
Wheat flour	.do. .	50,356	3,323	16,557	2,589
Sugar (refined)	.do. .	69,975	5,961	69,399	8,264
Food, livestock, and other[1]	. . .	. . .	12,585	. . .	10,572
Raw cotton	metric tons	1,109	737	32,401	1,845
Jute and other textile fibers	. . .	. . .	709	. . .	1,427
Crude petroleum	thousand gallons	151,037	7,798	9,924	14,449
Petroleum products	. . .	. . .	3,857	. . .	8,066
Tallow	metric tons	11,288	1,856	27,600	4,590
Alumina (aluminum oxide and hydroxide)	.do. .	19,020	1,142	214,355	14,986
Other chemicals and related products	. . .	. . .	18,804	. . .	40,506
Tarpaulins and other rubber manufactures	. . .	. . .	5,500	. . .	8,435
Paper, paperboard, and manufactures	. . .	. . .	6,709	. . .	10,367
Textile yarns, fabrics, and made-up goods	. . .	. . .	30,870	. . .	39,474

Nonmetallic mineral manufactures	...	...	15,146	...	12,657
Iron and steel semimanufactures	...	...	8,723	...	8,021
Nonferrous semimanufactures	...	...	6,165	...	4,175
Machinery and electrical equipment	...	...	69,834	...	66,543
Motor vehicles for assembly	...	...	9,652	...	14,070
Other motor vehicles and transport equipment	...	...	19,147	...	13,906
Miscellaneous manufactures	...	...	18,193	...	14,601
Other merchandise	...	...	29,463	...	21,095
Total imports		...	301,451	...	354,391

. . . means not applicable.

[1] Imports for consumption or reexport. Imports are valued c.i.f. (including cost of insurance and freight) and exclude nonmonetary gold. Direct fish landings from foreign vessels under contract, valued at N₵10,622,000 in 1966 (including fish from cannery ships) are excluded.

[2] In thousand new cedi. One cedi equaled US$1.17 in 1966; in 1969 one new cedi equaled US$0.98.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1969*, Accra, 1970.

Table 9. Foreign Trade with Principal Countries of Origin and Destination, Ghana, 1966 and 1969[1]

	Imports[2]		Exports[3]		Cocoa bean export	
	1966	1969	1966	1969[4]	1966	1969[4]
United Kingdom	86,676	95,033	54,823	102,512	9,241	26,225
United States	50,538	62,210	32,950	46,809	20,701	40,912
Netherlands	15,358	16,758	15,479	33,555	10,852	14,105
Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)	22,293	37,769	16,781	33,041	13,768	26,109
Japan	16,018	20,772	11,254	26,174	9,348	12,524
Soviet Union	17,488	13,226	21,291	4,063	20,689	3,474
Italy	10,109	8,891	7,282	10,854	2,693	2,450
Yugoslavia	4,625	3,838	6,269	7,755	6,075	6,506
Australia	1,487	2,622	4,129	6,892	2,700	5,610
Other countries	76,859	93,272	52,698	54,771	27,602	20,712
Total	301,451	354,391	222,956	326,426[4]	123,669	158,327[4]
Revised total	...	...	...	387,777	...	219,678

. . . means not applicable.

[1] In million new cedi. In 1966 one cedi equaled US$1.17; in 1969 one new cedi equaled US$0.98.

[2] Imports are valued c.i.f. (include cost of insurance and freight) and include imports for reexport. Nonmonetary gold is excluded.

[3] Exports are valued f.o.b. (exclude cost of insurance and freight) and exclude reexports. Nonmonetary gold is included.

[4] Do not add to unrevised totals. Revised data include cocoa shipments held up for two months.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1966*, Accra, 1967; *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1967*, Accra, 1968; and *External Trade Statistics of Ghana, December 1969*, Accra, 1970.

The country's experience with bilateral barter agreements with the centrally planned economies in the last years of the Nkrumah regime had been generally unfavorable. For example, Ghana had sought to diversify its market for cocoa by diverting surpluses to the Soviet Union and other bilateral partners. The market proved unreliable, however, and some of the cocoa exchanged for Soviet-bloc goods was later dumped on the West European market in return for hard currency, depressing the prevailing price. Goods received in return sometimes proved unsatisfactory. Ghanaian consumers are quite sophisticated and would not accept consumer goods that did not measure up in quality to advance samples. On capital equipment, delivery dates were often erratic, and lack of standardization created difficulties of repair and maintenance. Some of the agricultural equipment delivered, for example, was rusting and useless in 1969 and 1970. Contracts for capital equipment projects often provided for the maintenance of a staff of East European technicians, which could further add to unproductive costs.

By early 1969 the new government had decided to conduct its foreign trade on a multilateral basis and to terminate all its bilateral agreements except that with the Soviet Union. The agreement with East Germany was terminated in 1967, and those with Israel and Albania, in 1968. The agreement with Mali was eliminated in 1969; the agreement with Cuba was not in active operation, and those with Dahomey and Upper Volta had never been activated.

Despite the new ideological climate, the continuing effort to diversify the country's trade ties, particularly to find new markets for cocoa exports, led to new attempts in the late 1960s to revive trade with the centrally planned economies, though on a more multilateral basis. By late 1970 Ghana had lifted the suspension on its trade protocols with East European countries—the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. It hoped to supply these countries with cocoa and timber and to import from them some machinery and equipment, spare parts, oil, pharmaceuticals, and sugar.

International commodity analyses continued to project that the East European countries and the Soviet Union would show the most rapid expansion in chocolate consumption in the 1970s and 1980s, and Ghana was accordingly seeking a new basis for cocoa exports to the Soviet Union in return for hard currency rather than for barter against Soviet goods. In October 1970 the Alliance of Cocoa Producers agreed to send a sales mission to eight European countries and Communist China to promote cocoa sales.

The United Kingdom and the EEC countries remained the primary destinations for exports in the late 1960s, with the dollar area in third place. As a source of imports, the United Kingdom was first, the dollar area second, and the EEC, third.

Recorded trade with other countries of Africa had remained very limited despite political commitment to develop and expand economic relations. In 1969 Ghana's recorded intra-African trade amounted to only 3.5 percent of total customs imports and 0.06 percent of total exports of domestic products. Smuggling to and from neighboring countries was a thriving business, but it involved primarily transit trade rather than trade in African products. The smuggling trade, much of it carried by canoe to Togo, included everything from Afro-style wigs to cows, but diamonds and cocoa were among the most important goods smuggled out of Ghana. There may also have been a continuing traditional trade in local products, such as kola nuts, that have been brought across the border for centuries without formality. Price differentials, export levies, and other fees contributed to the incentives to smuggling (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). Of somewhat more limited significance were road patterns, which sometimes made it easier to transport cocoa across borders than to Ghanaian ports or storage centers. Smuggling into Ghana from neighboring countries involved a range of imported goods subject to import duties, exchange controls, or excise taxes, such as cigarettes and liquor. It was estimated in 1969 that about one-third of Togo's total imports were being re-exported illegally to Ghana.

Progress toward economic integration among the West African countries has been almost imperceptible, despite political enthusiasm for the concept dating back to independence or before. For the most part, the economies of the West African countries are competitive rather than complementary, producing an identical or similar range of indigenous products whose primary markets are in the overseas industrial countries. The general abolition of tariff and other trade barriers among them might serve primarily as an incentive to European-owned firms to locate where they could serve the entire West African market.

A mission of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, nevertheless, concluded that each West African country might be able to supply goods at competitive prices to other countries in the region. The West African Regional Group, formally established in April 1968, comprised ten countries: Ghana, the Gambia, Guinea, Upper Volta, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. A draft treaty establishing the West African economic community comprising these states was to have been discussed in 1969, but the French-speaking countries, some of which belong to their own customs union, opposed a meeting.

Balance of Payments

Until 1956 the country had consistently maintained a surplus on its current balance of payments (goods and services). After World War II the price of cocoa rose on world markets, and Ghana's total volume of trade was four times what it had been in the 1930s. Because of deliberately cautious government policy as well as fortuitous import shortages, personnel shortages, and consequent delays in planned expansion, the country enjoyed a comfortable current payments surplus. The surplus began to diminish in size in the 1950s, but the country was able to continue to build up its sterling reserves through 1955. The cocoa price reached a peak in 1954, with a consequent adverse effect on industrial demand for cocoa and cocoa butter, which lasted into the 1960s. It was also the last year of real security in the country's external payments, although a bare surplus was registered in 1955 and again in 1958.

The period of sizable deficits in the country's external payments began in 1956. Receipts from cocoa exports remained relatively stable, with a decline in price offsetting the increased export volume. Import prices were fairly stable through the mid-1960s so that the fluctuation in the country's terms of trade was a direct function of the cocoa price. The deterioration in the balance of payments in the 1956–65 period resulted primarily from the high rate of government expenditure for capital equipment (some of it unproductive) and for development projects and current consumption. Although import restrictions were in force, their application was erratic and subject to negotiation, and the government sometimes adopted a deliberate policy of allowing imports of consumer goods to counteract price rises on the internal market. The pressure of consumer demand was generally high throughout the period. The high cost of imports was reflected not only in the unfavorable balance of merchandise trade but also in a deficit on services attributable largely to the cost of freight and insurance on imported merchandise. There was also an increasing deficit in unrequited private transfers, possibly because of improved classification of payments previously subsumed under the heading of errors and omissions.

In 1962 the total value of trade—exports plus imports—was twelve and a half times what it had been before World War II. The deficit on current account surpassed US$100 million in

1960, 1961, and 1963. In 1965 extraordinarily heavy imports of capital goods, including aircraft and ships, as well as of consumer goods, caused the deficit on current account to surpass US$220 million (see table 10). The country's reserves of foreign exchange, which had been drawn down steadily since 1959, were at last exhausted, and it faced a severe foreign exchange crisis. Moreover, it had acquired a heavy burden of foreign debt, largely in suppliers' credits, and was in arrears on its current payments.

After the military coup of February 1966, the new government introduced a stabilization program designed to curb demand pressure on the balance of payments by restraining domestic credit expansion and curtailing deficit spending, as well as by an initial strict control of imports. The disinflationary policy was pursued at the cost of growing unemployment (see ch 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). The effect remained limited in 1966, however, and in that year there was also a severe drop in the cocoa price, coinciding with a reduction in the volume of cocoa exports because of heavy rains and floods. Imports were cut back to the 1964 level, but there was nonetheless a payments deficit on current account of US$125 million. It was offset by an increase in foreign investment, by new official loans, and by sizable drawings on the IMF accounts. Some current payments were in arrears, and there were very substantial arrears on transfers of profits and dividends of foreign-owned firms as well as on debt repayments.

Devaluation of the cedi in 1967 helped to redress some of the imbalance in external payments, and it had a favorable effect on the volume of timber exports. There was also a steep rise in the cocoa price in 1967 and 1968. Although the volume of cocoa production had remained low, the value of cocoa exports reached a new high in 1968, offsetting the value of imports. The introduction of the new international two-tier gold price in March 1968 improved the country's earnings from sales of gold bullion. The deficit on current payments narrowed in 1968 for the third consecutive year. Foreign investment declined disappointingly, however. The interest due on suppliers' credits and long-term official capital doubled to about US$23 million in 1968, and was matched by the repayments of principal due under the 1966 debt rescheduling. After a two-year moratorium on foreign debt, more than US$20 million in suppliers' credits fell due for repayment in the last half of 1968, though an increased rate of utilization of United States and United Kingdom loans permitted a favorable balance on official capital.

Imports in 1968 were only slightly below the 1965 high, and in 1969 they surpassed the previous record level. Imports in

Table 10. Balance of External Payments, Ghana, 1965-68
(in million United States dollars)

Net balance by category of payment	1965	1966	1967	1968[1]
Merchandise balance[2]	- 144.9	- 64.3	- 5.8	+ 19.4
Nonmonetary gold	+ 26.7	+ 23.9	+ 24.6	+ 28.2
Services:				
Freight and insurance on merchandise	- 29.5	- 23.9	- 17.2	- 15.9
Other transportation and travel	- 22.0	- 21.5	- 27.5	- 24.6
Direct investment income	- 15.3	- 13.9	- 15.8	- 15.4
Other investment income[3]	- 11.7	- 6.2	- 8.4	- 16.7
Government expenditure (current)	- 7.6	- 6.7	- 8.0	- 6.8
Other services	- 7.8	- 4.9	- 11.2	- 8.2
Balance on goods and services	-212.1	-117.5	- 69.3	- 40.0
Unrequited transfers:				
Foreign employees' remittances	- 13.3	- 14.3	- 13.7	- 15.9
Other private transfers	- 1.2	+ 1.9	- 1.8	
Grants received by government (net)	+ 3.6	+ 4.8	+ 0.3	.....
Goods, services, and transfers	-223.0	-125.1	- 84.5	- 55.9
Direct investment	+ 38.2	+ 56.1	+ 32.6	+ 16.8
Other private long-term capital	- 2.0	- 1.2	+ 2.1	- 3.1
Private short-term capital	+ 49.7	- 5.7	- 3.4	+ 6.1
Capital received by government (net)	+ 49.3	+ 49.2	+ 19.4	+ 25.0
Balance on current and capital account	- 87.8	- 26.7	- 33.8	- 11.1
Net movement of Foreign Exchange Reserves (minus equals increase in holdings):				
Monetary gold	.....	.....	.....	.....
International Monetary Fund accounts	- 10.6	+ 46.9	+ 18.8	+ 10.9
Payments agreements	+ 34.7	- 4.5	- 22.3	+ 1.9
Central banking institutions	+ 39.6	- 24.2	+ 45.5	
Commercial banks	+ 14.3	+ 6.6	- 16.4	- 2.6
Errors and omissions	+ 9.8	+ 1.9	+ 8.2	+ 0.9

[1] Preliminary.

[2] Excludes gold. Other adjustments have been made in customs data. Imports here are valued f.o.b. (excluding cost of insurance and freight).

[3] Credit includes interest on official sterling holdings. Debit includes interest due, but not paid, on commercial credits.

Source: Adapted from *Balance of Payments Yearbook,* XXI, 1964-68, International Monetary Fund, Washington, 1970.

1968 had nonetheless fallen well short of established minimum requirements because of curtailed government revenue and balance of payments restrictions. Valued at about US$350 million, 1969 imports closely approximated what had been assessed as the country's minimum import requirements for the year, after allowing for further cutbacks in consumer goods imports and for substantial increases in fuels, raw materials, and capital goods. As 1969 exports were somewhat below the 1968 high, the merchandise balance, adjusted to balance of payments criteria, was again in deficit. The current balance of payments, including transfers, was larger than in 1968, standing at US$59.2 million. The burden of interest and debt repayments had been reduced, on a temporary basis, by the latest rescheduling but remained one important source of the drain on foreign exchange resources. At the end of 1970 foreign debts stood at US$687.2 million, down some US$35.3 million from the previous year (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Because the volume of cocoa exports had fallen after neglect of swollen shoot disease, the country had become still more vulnerable to a drop in cocoa prices on world markets. In addition, the high prices of recent years had reportedly brought about a decline in cocoa consumption. The government's plans to rehabilitate cocoa production would take some years to bear fruit.

The budget statement of August 1970 stressed the incentives offered to exporters, but it appeared that the number of Ghanaian manufacturers taking advantage of such incentives was rather small compared to the volume of Ghanaian goods being smuggled into and sold in neighboring countries. The same budget liberalized imports but added a surcharge of from 5 percent to 50 percent (averaging 40 percent) to all goods entering the country.

Foreign Investment

Foreign investment played an important part in mining, manufacturing, and commerce. Foreign investment was primarily British, except in small-scale commerce, where Lebanese and Indian interests were important until the Africanization measures of 1969 and 1970. North American investment has taken on new importance since the Akosombo Dam was constructed in 1965 and the aluminum reduction plant at Tema was completed in 1966.

The economy was mixed, with private enterprises playing a more important role than state enterprises. Despite the Nkrumah regime's commitment to African socialism, it encouraged foreign private investment and confined the role of the state largely to new enterprises and those in which private investment had not displayed interest. When it did take over a private operation, as in the case of a small gold-mining firm that was operating at a loss, the former owners were compensated at a rate considered entirely equitable. The new civilian government was trying to divest itself of some of the former state enterprises; in other new enterprises it participated along with foreign private capital.

In early 1971 there were no data on the value of existing foreign investment. The net annual inflow of foreign exchange from direct investment, including reinvestment of undistributed earnings, showed an average net debit of US$63 million in the 1958–61 period and a credit balance in the ensuing years, averaging US$10 million a year in 1962 and 1963, more than US$32 million a year from 1964 through 1967, US$16.8 million in 1968, and around US$15 million in 1969.

In 1966 establishments in all sectors of economic activity employing more than 10 persons employed about 4,500 non-Africans, or 1.2 percent of all employees. The number of non-Africans was highest at that time in construction (probably including Italian workers on construction of the Akosombo Dam). Non-Ghanaian Africans employed totaled about 37,000, or 10 percent of all employees, and they were fairly equally distributed among sectors of economic activity.

Data on ownership of establishments were available only from the 1962 census of industry. They covered all establishments employing one or more persons in mining, manufacturing, construction, and power but did not cover agriculture, commerce, or services. In 1962 non-Africans owned about 500 of the country's more than 103,000 industrial establishments; these 500 establishments accounted for 16 percent of the total number of persons engaged in industry (including proprietors and salaried personnel) but 34 percent of the paid employees. Non-Ghanaian Africans, principally from Nigeria and Togo, owned about 3,000 establishments, most of them very small, which accounted for about 5 percent of all persons engaged in industry and 2 percent of the paid employees in industry. In terms of the number of paid employees, British ownership predominated notably in mining and manufacturing, and Italian ownership predominated in construction. French, Swiss, and Danish nationals also owned a number of manufacturing establishments. United States nationals in 1962 owned only 11 establishments in manufacturing, 5 in construction, and none in mining; their employment was negligible.

The Ghanaian Enterprise Decree of December 1968 was intended to reduce foreign dominance in wholesale and retail trade and other small- or medium-scale activities and create more jobs for Ghanaians in these and other sectors. It prohibited foreign ownership in firms with annual gross retail sales under US$490,000, wholesale operations of US$980,000 or less, firms having fewer than thirty employees, and firms in the extractive, processing, manufacturing, or transportation businesses with a capital of US$98,000 or less.

A further move to reduce non-Ghanaian activity in petty trading was the promulgation of the Residence Permits Compliance Order of November 18, 1969, which was followed by the expulsion of numbers of Nigerian and other African petty tradesmen, including many born in Ghana (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). The decree was said to create more opportunities for Ghanaians in petty trading, which had been dominated by Nigerians and other Africans, and to effect the removal of Lebanese and Indians, who have been the principal middlemen in trading. By late 1970 it was reported that large elements of the trading sector had passed into Ghanaian hands.

The Ghanaian Business Promotion Act, designed to supersede the Ghanaian Enterprise Decree, came into effect on August 1, 1970. It provided for government assistance in the promotion of Ghanaian-owned businesses and charged non-Ghanaians operating enterprises to maintain programs to train Ghanaians to acquire the skills necessary for the operation of the businesses. It also listed a number of categories of enterprises that would be reserved exclusively for Ghanaian ownership, including retail and wholesale trade with an annual sales volume of N₵500,000 or less (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary); overseas business representation in Ghana; taxi service; commercial transportation by land; bakeries; printing; beauty shops; commodity brokerage; advertising and publicity; and the manufacture of cement blocks. The reservation of further categories of business to Ghanaian ownership was left to the discretion of the minister of finance and economic planning in consultation with the cabinet.

Large-scale foreign investment, which is characteristically British, European, or American, was not immediately or directly affected by these provisions, but the outlook was for increasing administrative pressure for participation by Ghanaians in managerial and other positions, and in late 1970, this part of the program was thought to be progressing smoothly. In the retail sales field, only 33 foreign firms remained exempt from the prohibition, and some 600 had been taken over by Ghanaians. Overseas business representation and taxi ownership, fields in which non-Africans had predominated, were totally banned to them.

The banning of non-Ghanaian Africans engaged in petty trading or peddling led to some temporary disruption of trade.

In late 1970 there was still the possibility of disruption of credit supply to new merchants unknown as credit risks. The Bank of Ghana had offered to guarantee two-thirds of certain categories of loans extended by the Commercial Bank to tide over the transition period.

While it was cutting down on foreign enterprise in the field of commerce, the government was actively seeking foreign investment in production. It kept in force the Capital Investment Act of 1963, which offered a ten-year tax holiday and other incentives to enterprises that could make a productive contribution to the national economy. The government was seeking to divest itself of the nineteen former state enterprises that were taken over in mid-1968 by the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation. In addition, it was seeking foreign capital for conversion of bauxite to alumina and possibly for crude gas and oil if the 1970 discoveries prove of commercial value (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Foreign Grants and Loans

Because most of the country's foreign debt was owed to private firms, the Western creditor countries have insisted upon the distinction between Ghana's obligation to meet outstanding debts and its need for aid to bolster the balance of payments and permit a moderate rate of economic development. To review and coordinate the country's aid requirements, the Consultative Group for Ghana was formed. This group included representatives of the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In a communique of July 1970, the group endorsed Ghana's request for increased external resources and noted that the country was fully justified in seeking to accelerate the pace of development after a five-year interval of stabilization and retrenchment. Subsequently, a series of bilateral agreements was concluded that provided for interest-free or low-interest government loans.

The overall level of official financial flows from Western countries, including both grant aid and officially endorsed loans, tripled between the change of regime in 1966 and 1970. Financial flows from Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan rose from about US$2.5 million a year in 1960 and 1961 to about US$44.6 million in 1965. In 1966 the flow increased to US$76.5 million (of which US$62 million was from the United States), and dropped in 1967 to US$67.2 million (US$33 million from the United States). In 1969 the flow was estimated at roughly US$76 million. Most of this assistance was in the form of loans, however; grant aid remained modest in scope.

The Foreign Debt Problem in the 1960s

Until the 1960s development expenditure had been financed primarily from the country's own foreign exchange earnings and reserves, based largely upon cocoa earnings. In the political context of the time, this demonstrated ideological nonalignment and left the Nkrumah government free to heed or disregard the financial counsel of international aid organizations and financial bodies and to assign development priorities without consultation.

In principle, the Nkrumah government's expenditure programs were designed to take advantage of the fairly favorable cocoa earnings and accumulated foreign exchange reserves of the 1950s to diversify the country's productive structure and eventually make the economy less heavily reliant on a single export crop. The country's independent exchange resources were soon exhausted, however. Not unexpectedly, world cocoa prices fell from a high of roughly US$985 a metric ton in 1958 to as low as US$138 a metric ton in mid-1965. At the same time, the country's reserves of gold and foreign exchange were being steadily drawn down, from US$546 million in 1957 to US$126 million in 1961. By 1966 they had been exhausted.

By 1960 the government found itself committed to a program of heavy capital expenditure, but it was confronted by vanishing capital resources. The prevailing financial climate was not attractive for long-term private investments or assistance from Western governments, although some sizable Western credits were extended. Multilateral agencies were unable to endorse the economic prospects for some of the projects proposed. For these reasons, and in pursuit of its policy of political nonalignment and diversification of economic partners, the Nkrumah regime began to turn increasingly to two major sources of credit—medium-term commercial credits from private Western suppliers and contractors and reciprocal (swing) credits under bilateral trade agreements with the Soviet Union and other centrally planned economies.

In incurring an increasing burden of foreign debt in the form of suppliers' credits and bilateral agreements, the government appears to have proceeded on the assumption that peak cocoa prices would prevail in the medium to long term and would permit the repayment of debts incurred on projects that could not be expected to pay their own way for some years after repayments fell due. Twelve-year or even twenty-year projects were being financed by six-year credits. Moreover, during much of the period, priority investment went into physical or social overhead capital, which could not be expected to yield a short- or medium-term return. The assumption of continuing peak cocoa prices was not in accord with prevailing international expectations, which were generally gloomy. Cocoa production was expanded, but earnings remained limited because of the price decline and imports of food and other consumer goods continued to expand. The government's deficit spending stimulated imports for private consumption as well as capital investment, and curbs imposed on imports in the early 1960s failed to redress the balance.

By mid-1963 Ghana was already in debt to a wide range of suppliers and contractors under seventy separate agreements, of which forty-seven were with Western firms, eight with the Soviet Union, and fourteen with countries of Eastern Europe. By 1966 suppliers in the United Kingdom headed the list of foreign creditors, particularly in the supply of transport equipment, including costly jet aircraft and buses. Firms in West Germany and other countries of Western Europe had also supplied important commercial credits. Among the remaining creditors were a few firms in the United States and Canada.

The level of suppliers' credits outstanding reached a plateau in 1965; the amount of debt incurred thereafter was relatively limited. By 1965 the country had begun to run out of foreign exchange to meet even the most urgent current needs, and arrears began to develop in payments for imports, freight and insurance, and dividends on foreign investment. Faced with a payments crisis, the Nkrumah government called on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, commonly known as the World Bank) for consultations. Some of their recommendations proved distasteful to the party, however, and in February 1966, just before the military coup that toppled his regime, Nkrumah's spokesmen were still referring to "ideological differences" with the IMF and the World Bank.

Side by side with the real structural improvements effected in the country's economy during this period of heavy capital investment were a number of costly or misdirected projects that grew out of the somewhat hectic and uncoordinated acceptance of foreign credit agreements. Conditions became particularly chaotic after responsibility for such contracts were shifted from civil servants to party functionaries. Long delays were experienced in the delivery of equipment, and some never materialized. It reportedly became routine for party officials to receive commissions of 10 percent from suppliers. One British roadbuilding firm later admitted paying bribes to the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). The bilateral trade agreements entered into during this period also proved less than satisfactory.

Thus between 1960 and 1965 Ghana incurred a heavy burden of foreign debt that was to weigh upon its balance of payments and to restrict its choices in economic policy for some years to come. The debt problem was the most pressing immediate difficulty confronting succeeding governments. It dictated a cutback in development expenditure and inevitably absorbed much time and diverted administrative resources from planning and other pressing economic needs.

Estimates of the magnitude of the foreign debt have varied widely. In mid-1968 a comprehensive estimate of the country's foreign obligations as of February 1966 amounted to the equivalent of US$448.6 million in medium-term debt, scheduled to mature within five years at 6 percent interest, and about US$71.7 million in long-term debt, with an average maturity of nineteen years at 5 percent interest.

More than three-fourths of the country's unfunded foreign debt was thought to consist of suppliers' credits. The bulk of the debt was owed to suppliers in the United Kingdom. According to one estimate, only about US$500,000 was owed to firms in the United States. The press reported that the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and Israel were among those subsequently opposing more than a token rescheduling of the debt.

The change of government in February 1966 brought closer cooperation with international monetary authorities. The broad lines of their policy recommendations accorded in general with the views of economic experts in the new government, who had watched with apprehension the economic policies and trends of the 1960–65 period. The new government embarked immediately on a course of retrenchment designed to curb demand pressures on the balance of payments. At the same time, it accepted responsibility for the debts incurred under the previous government, although a few of the more obviously uneconomic contracts were subsequently canceled.

A mission from the IMF visited the country in 1966 and endorsed its stabilization measures. Under the leadership of the IMF, the Western creditor countries agreed in December 1966 to declare a two-year moratorium on Ghana's debts to them. The Communist countries, to which Ghana owed the equivalent of about US$150 million, not due in convertible currency, had already declared a two-year moratorium in December 1965. In addition, both groups of creditors agreed to reschedule the payments due thereafter.

Repayments of principal on the outstanding suppliers' credits increased from N₵7.6 million in 1967 to N₵23 million in 1968. A second rescheduling was negotiated in a conference in London in late 1968 and confirmed by a series of bilateral agreements with creditor countries during 1968 and 1969. By December 1969, about US$56 million of the medium-term debt owed to Western countries had been paid off.

At Ghana's request a third debt rescheduling conference of fifteen creditor countries was held in London in July 1970. Ghana's delegation was seeking a ten-year moratorium and a fifty-year refinancing loan at 2 percent interest. This proposal was not accepted. Instead, the creditor countries offered to defer for two years 50 percent of the amounts due, both principal and interest. In addition, creditor firms were given a choice among three different methods of deferring or refinancing loans. In any case, it would mean that in the two years from mid-1970 to mid 1972 Ghana would be paying up to US$25 million less than had been agreed in 1968, or about 10 percent of the amounts originally due.

There was disappointment in Ghana over the terms of the new agreement. Perhaps more significant than the two-year rescheduling provisions, however, was the promise of creditor countries that another conference would be held before the deferred payments began to fall due after June 1972.

THE PURSUIT OF A COCOA AGREEMENT

Ghana's efforts to obtain international agreement on some kind of arrangement to stabilize cocoa prices on the world market were pursued throughout the late 1960s, but by late 1970 the chances for a price stabilization agreement of the type originally envisaged between producers and consumers appeared to be fading. This failure was variously attributed to a few of the producing countries, to the major consuming countries, or to international commodity market speculators, who deal in cocoa futures without any direct participation in either production or consumption. The steep rise of the international cocoa price from 1966 through 1969 made producing countries less inclined to accept the stabilization proposals of consumer country representatives, which were generally based on a low or moderate price range. In the absence of a price stabilization agreement, it appeared in late 1970 that leading consumer countries would be obliged to seek other means of compensating for the sometimes disastrous economic consequence of abrupt speculative swings in the price or demand on world markets.

Negotiations for a cocoa stabilization agreement had been pursued since 1956. A sharp rise in world cocoa prices in 1954 had resulted in widespread substitution of sugar-based confectionery and the use of filled chocolate in place of solid chocolate, with a consequent slump in world cocoa demand and prices. In this period negotiations were conducted under the auspices of the Cocoa Study Group of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), but the price proposals of producers and consumers remained radically divergent.

The negotiations subsequently came under the sponsorship of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). There has been a formal conference in June of each year at which the fourteen or fifteen principal consuming and producing countries are represented. In addition, the principal producers have joined in periodic meetings of the Alliance of Cocoa Producers, which comprises Ghana, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, Togo, Nigeria, and Brazil.

Because the United States is the leading cocoa-consuming country, a rhetorical device sometimes employed by representatives of Ghana and other cocoa-producing countries refers to the United States as the principal stumbling block in the way of a stabilization agreement at a price range favorable to producers. In recent years, however, and particularly in periods of relatively low cocoa prices, the United States government has played a leading role in efforts to evolve a stabilization formula. In July 1967, in the face of widespread disagreement on the issue, Ghana and the United States, as the leading producing and consuming country respectively, undertook to achieve a common position, spelling out target prices, a buffer stock mechanism, and other details that could serve as a basis for an international agreement.

At the international conference of November 1967, agreement was reached on the basis of the United States-Ghanaian position by all the participating countries except France and the Ivory Coast, whose delegations dissented on a technical point concerning the assessment of sales quotas. The Ivory Coast has been rapidly expanding its production of cocoa and, as a "new" producer, would stand to lose by the assessment of quotas on the basis of existing production.

At the June 1968 UNCTAD meeting on cocoa, a refined and expanded memorandum of agreement on a "package" arrangement for cocoa again provoked the dissent of France and the Ivory Coast. As the price of cocoa rose still further in 1968 and 1969, the target price range embodied in the United States-Ghana draft proposal became less attractive to producers. In June 1969 the prospects of agreement deteriorated still further when Brazil came out in radical opposition to basic provisions on price and sales quotas. By June 1970 widespread differences had developed on a range of technical provisions. There were divergences not only between producers and consumers but also among producers on the one hand and among consumers on the other. It appeared that a better basis must be devised in consultation with leading consumer countries and multilateral agencies.

One device that had been a feature of the proposed draft agreement was the use of an international buffer stock to reduce price fluctuations. The buffer stock would operate within a price floor and ceiling. The international body would undertake to buy at a specified minimum price any quantity of a given commodity and to sell any quantity of that commodity at a maximum price. This procedure would dampen excessive price fluctuations. Its proponents affirm that, with adequate financial resources, it would provide automatic assurance on prices without restriction on volume, whereas a quota provides no assurance on price or on actual sale of the quota. Leading firms representing commodity market speculators have asserted, on the other hand, that the plan was unrealistic and that the UNCTAD committee had no real understanding of the way commodity markets operate.

A device that has already been applied to a limited extent is compensatory financing. Beginning in 1963, a member country strongly dependent on exports of one or more primary products and suffering from fluctuations in receipts from such exports can draw upon the IMF within specified limits and according to a specific formula for an appropriate foreign exchange loan whenever its exports fall below a medium-term trend. Ghana made such a compensatory drawing, amounting to US$17.2 million, in 1966.

In July 1969 the executive directors of the IMF introduced a parallel plan that would assist member countries to finance international buffer stocks, in the event that agreement could be reached on buffer stock mechanisms for commodities other than tin. The World Bank was reportedly also developing a plan to assist member countries in connection with commodity problems. At a meeting of the Alliance of Cocoa Producers in Brasilia in October 1970, the alliance president urged the producing countries to accept a plan by which they would tax their cocoa exports in order to finance an international fund to operate an international cocoa agreement.

Although the world market price for cocoa beans is volatile and subject to speculative forward operations, it is not entirely independent of supply conditions in Ghana and cannot therefore be regarded as a completely arbitrary or independent variable extrinsic to the country's economy, as is sometimes implied in policy statements. In the past, world demand for cocoa has expanded rather slowly, and Ghana has furnished a very significant share of aggregate world supply. In the 1960-66 period, for example, it supplied between 34 and 41 percent of total world exports of cocoa beans. Because a few producing countries consume a portion of their own production, Ghana's share of world production was somewhat lower—ranging from 25 to 35 percent in the 1965-68 period. Moreover, of the five leading producing countries, four are located in West Africa not far from Ghana, so that weather conditions affecting the volume of Ghana's production may affect their production as well.

The thesis has been advanced that fluctuations in the price of cocoa beans on leading world markets can be attributed primarily to variations in aggregate supply. Insofar as fluctuations in world supply parallel the movement in Ghana's export volume, it might, therefore, be expected that the world market price would vary inversely with export volume. In practice, throughout the 1960s, on a calendar year average, the cocoa price did tend to go down in each year that the volume of cocoa exports from Ghana went up. It has been suggested that this inverse relationship tends to act as a built-in stabilizer of the country's economy, limiting its gains from upswings in the world price as well as somewhat cushioning the shock of the periodic drastic price plunges.

An IMF study pointed out, however, that, under the prevailing speculative commercial practice of forward sales for cocoa, the major influence on export prices actually received is exercised by variations in successive crop forecasts, rather than by final harvest estimates. The methods of the crop forecasters are often mysterious, and the actual acreage planted is unknown. By 1968 Ghana's cocoa output and its share in world supply were both on the decline and, in view of the estimates of the age and extent of plantings and the ravages of swollen shoot disease, there was some prospect that Ghana's proportionate share in world supply might decline further in the 1970s (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy).

Data on plantings in producing countries were so inadequate that projections of future trends could be only tentative. It was thought, however, that the proportion of old cocoa in Ghana's plantings was very large in the late 1960s (see ch. 11, Character and Structure of the Economy). The FAO suggested that there might be a further growth of production in Nigeria in the first half of the 1970s but that thereafter the prospects for expansion would be particularly favorable in the Ivory Coast and other West African producing countries where the postwar expansion in new plantings started later than in Ghana and continued during the 1960s. The FAO also tentatively projected a steeper rise in world demand for cocoa during the 1970s. It was assumed that, in the absence of effective stabilization measures, variations in successive crop forecasts would continue to produce violent fluctuations in price. A United States Department of Agriculture demand projection for 1980 also assumed good world import demand for cocoa, with an expected growth in consumption in Western European and centrally planned countries. It pointed out that reductions in import restrictions in these countries might further enhance their import potential.

CHAPTER 11

CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

In 1970 Ghana was relatively favorably situated among black African nations in possessing abundant physical resources and considerable capital investment in the form of cocoa stands and established infrastructure and physical plant. Its financial problems were so burdensome, however, that its resources were not being fully exploited and its physical plant was operating at well below full capacity. Since 1957 the average annual rate of real growth had been relatively low, particularly in relation to population growth. Although the country possessed somewhat more trained and educated manpower than the majority of African countries, effective utilization of manpower had not been achieved, and mass unemployment was a severe and mounting problem. Export capacity had not been materially improved, and reliance on imports of both food and equipment was growing.

The country made important strides in development before the beginning of the twentieth century with the exploitation of its mineral and forest wealth and the development of cocoa production for export. The structure of the economy in the 1960s still reflected the pattern in the early 1900s but at a much higher level of output. Reliance on cocoa exports was still the principal feature of the money economy. Cocoa was thought to generate directly about 15 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in a good crop year. According to the 1960 census, it accounted for about 20 percent of recorded employment. It furnishes the livelihood of one-third of the population. It provides 60 to 65 percent of the country's export earnings and during the 1960s was the direct source of from 6 to 23 percent of government revenues. Cocoa export is the principal reason why Ghana has, in the past, enjoyed one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa, estimated in the late 1960s at about the equivalent of US$242 annually.

The economy is based primarily upon small-scale agricultural production, chiefly of basic foodstuffs. Census data show that in 1960 some 60 percent of the population was occupied in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, but the actual percentage may have been closer to 70. An estimate for 1967 placed the share of agriculture, forestry, and fishing at about 61.6 percent (see table 11). Laborious hand cultivation is still the rule, with small and often fragmented holdings and low average yields. Subsistence cultivation is less prevalent than in most developing countries, and cash cropping is particularly common in the southern half of the country. Subsistence consumption (own produce consumed) amounts to only one-fifth of national expenditure on private consumption and constitutes only about 40 percent of the consumption of local food. Although subsistence farming is common in the northern savanna, the country has no subsistence sector in the sense of any large area with little or no contact with the market economy, such as may be found in some other regions of Africa. There is no section of the country that does not intentionally produce a food surplus for market, in addition to the surplus usually produced by subsistence cultivators in good crop years.

The economy is less exclusively reliant on agriculture than in many developing countries. The other primary production sectors—mining and forest products—assumed early importance in the nineteenth century and were exploited primarily on a concession basis, with non-African companies operating the mines. Since independence Ghanaian participation in these sectors has increased, both directly and through taxation.

After independence national policy placed greater emphasis upon the development of industry. During the 1960s the share of manufacturing in gross domestic product increased from about 3 percent to 10 percent. The creation of new manufacturing potential emphasized consumer industries, particularly food processing and textiles; however, some heavy industry was created as well. A number of these industries were created without adequate consideration of the supply of raw materials,

Table 11. Estimated Distribution of Labor Force by Sector of Economic Activity, Ghana, 1967

Sector	Percent
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	61.6
Commerce	15.0
Manufacturing	9.2
Services	6.0
Construction	3.5
Transport and communications	2.7
Other	2.0
Total	100.0

Source: Adapted from United States Department of Labor, "Ghana. 1967 Labor Force Surveyed," *Labor Developments Abroad*, XIII, No. 6, June 1968, p. 23.

demand, and economies of scale or other cost factors. A heavy debt burden was incurred in their construction, and in many cases operation was inefficient. Consequently, one of the major problems of the government in power in late 1970 was improvement of the performance of existing industries.

The country emerged from the Nkrumah years with some important physical assets—most notably the impressive Akosombo Dam on the Volta River, which cost the equivalent of about US$414 million and is capable of meeting the country's foreseeable needs for hydroelectric power. In 1970 it was still being used for low-cost conversion of imported alumina to aluminum but had the potential for exploitation of the country's substantial reserves of bauxite. In the later 1960s Ghana was realizing no return on the project after the cost of servicing the debt incurred—principally to the United States. It was estimated, however, that the return to Ghana, after debt service cost, would rise to about 10 percent by 1976.

Besides its fairly well developed infrastructure, the economy in 1970 possessed another advantage in its well-grounded education system (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences). Both the physical infrastructure—particularly rural feeder roads—and the school system needed further development, but they were sufficiently established so that they would not immediately require the massive initial expenditure characteristically needed in developing countries. Another advantage was the broad-based cocoa production, which had been earning foreign exchange since the 1920s and was strictly indigenous in character, the independent outgrowth of the entrepreneurial activity of a host of small-scale farmers. Moreover, by 1970 the country had attained a moderate degree of monetary stability, although at the cost of further stagnation in growth.

In 1970 the economic outlook was dominated by the problem of foreign debt, which had impeded economic growth for five years (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Foreign exchange resources had been reduced to the vanishing point by 1965 and since then have been negative, with debt repayment and servicing obligations outweighing net foreign exchange earnings. Moreover, the foreign exchange utilized during the regime of Kwame Nkrumah was partially wasted, so that the assets created may not prove adequate to make up for the liabilities incurred.

From 1961 through 1966 public policy was concentrated on the creation of savings and investment, particularly government investment. Private consumption and investment were curbed, and taxation and public indebtedness were increased.

Government consumption rose only moderately, but with the more rapid increase in government investment, total government expenditure rose from around 16 percent of gross domestic product to 27 percent. Much of this expenditure went into the state-operated enterprises that multiplied during this period. A great many of these enterprises were inefficiently operated or unproductive. The high rate of investment during this period did not result in economic growth. The average annual rate of real growth in gross domestic product, at constant prices, was only about 2.6 percent from 1960 through 1966. As a result of the severe financial problems inherited and the retrenchment effort they imposed, the rate of growth from 1967 through 1969 was only about 2.4 percent a year.

The vacillations of government policy and the lack of continuity in economic planning have entailed certain hardships for the economy. In agriculture, for example, the Nkrumah government shifted in 1960 from a policy of support for independent agriculture to socialist concentration on state farms and on the development of industry. The diversion of public funds, import permits, and other support led to the stagnation of independent agriculture and to the neglect of programs inaugurated in an earlier phase. By the end of the Nkrumah era in early 1966, the state farms, despite heavy investment, had not achieved any appreciable increase or improvement in production that might have helped to offset the static situation in peasant farming. Similar problems have been encountered in industry and other sectors of economic activity.

The military and civilian governments that succeeded Nkrumah, wishing to readjust national priorities to place greater emphasis on assistance to the private sector, have had difficulty in gearing up the existing administrative apparatus to carry out the new shift in policy. With heavy debt obligations and very limited funds, the government has inherited an entire range of state enterprises and projects that must either be rendered productive—usually under mixed private and state ownership—or gradually phased out. Consequently, progress on the implementation of new policies between 1966 and 1970 was slow and painful.

The pattern of allocation of gross domestic product shifted in the second half of the 1960s. Expenditure on capital formation took a smaller share. Private consumption mounted, but as a proportion of gross domestic product it had declined (see table 12). Expenditure on government consumption increased both absolutely and as a proportion of gross domestic product, largely because of salary increases in education, defense, and other services.

Table 12. Gross Domestic Product by Category of Expenditure, Ghana, Selected Years, 1963-69
(at current market prices)

	value*				Percent			
	1963	1965	1968	1969	1963	1965	1968	1969
Private consumption	916	1,255	1,463	1,626	75.6	78.1	70.8	69.9
General government consumption	138	205	363	412	11.6	12.7	17.6	17.7
Gross domestic fixed capital formation	218	271	224	242	18.1	16.9	10.8	10.4
Increase in stock	-8	+1	+2	+17	-0.7		0.1	0.7
Domestic expenditure	1,264	1,732	2,052	2,297	104.6	107.7	99.3	98.7
Exports less imports of goods and nonfactor services	-56	-124	15	31	-4.6	-7.7	0.7	1.3
Gross domestic product	1,208	1,608	2,067	2,328	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Value in million new cedi. On February 23, 1967, the new cedi replaced the cedi at the rate of 1.2 old cedis per 1 new cedi. Through July 7, 1967, 1 cedi equaled US $1.16; since July 8, 1967, 1 new cedi has equaled US$0.98.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey, 1969,* Accra, 1970.

In the 1966–69 period the government concentrated its efforts upon stabilization of inflationary pressure on the price level and the balance of payments. To curb demand pressure, it halted the growth of government investment. During this period only consumption increased. A number of public investment projects begun during the Nkrumah period were curtailed and, in general, caution was exercised in public investment. The policy was successful in achieving a fair degree of monetary stability, in reducing price inflation, and in somewhat inhibiting pressures on the foreign exchange balance, but it did not permit a satisfactory rate of growth.

Consequently, the entire period of the 1960s may be regarded as one of economic stagnation, most notably in agricultural production and in exports. During the same period population was growing rapidly. At the end of the decade, estimates of the number of unemployed ranged from 350,000 to as high as 600,000. The drift to the towns was accelerating the unemployment problem. Although rural incomes in the cocoa belt, the mining areas, and some food-growing areas were higher than in most of West Africa, poverty was endemic in some of the overpopulated subsistence farming areas of the northern savanna.

After the period of retrenchment from 1966 through 1969, the government was resolved to return to a policy of expansion. The balance of payments position remained a serious restraint on development expenditure and growth, however, and, along with external debt service charges, unemployment, and inflation, remained one of the principal problems confronting the government. The rate of growth and development that could be achieved would depend heavily on foreign assistance in the form of debt remission, capital investment, or balance of payments support.

A third debt rescheduling conference was held in London in July 1970 by the Consultative Group for Ghana, comprising major creditor countries and international organizations (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Represented were: the United Kingdom; the United States; seven other creditor countries; and such international organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, commonly known as the World Bank), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Program, and the African Development Bank. Several other countries and organizations sent observers. A formula was offered for deferring 50 percent of the amounts due for a period of two years, and a further conference was promised (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

At a further meeting in December 1970 the Consultative Group participants reaffirmed their earlier statement that Ghana was fully justified in seeking to accelerate development at a pace that would exceed the rate of population growth. They further affirmed that, to that end, Ghana needed domestic and external resources well above those currently available. The participants failed to reach agreement, however, on a formula for further reducing or rescheduling Ghana's debt payments. After the December 1970 meeting the press reported that the government of the United Kingdom—Ghana's principal creditor country—regarded the July 1970 debt settlement formula as final. This was a grave blow to the Ghanaian authorities, whose hopes and plans for future development had been largely predicated upon the promised amelioration of the debt problem.

The immediate impact of this financial impasse was cushioned by a favorable trend in the world cocoa price, a key determinant of the country's revenues and foreign exchange resources. The volume of production and export of cocoa remained below the crop year 1964/65 high, but record prices brought higher government revenues and, in conjunction with strictly controlled imports, resulted in a temporary improvement in the payments balance (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

Within the limits imposed by the foreign exchange position, the government proposed to redouble its efforts to correct some of the structural problems in the economy. Imports and government expenditure would be increased to permit renewed expansion. The economic program would accord first priority to support for the agricultural sector, particularly for independent farmers. It also proposed to increase utilization of existing productive capacity in the industrial sector, with some creation of new capacity. In a number of instances an increase in agricultural production was a prerequisite for more effective utilization of industrial processing capacity, which was originally intended to use domestic sugarcane, cotton, or other raw materials but which, because of shortages, had remained dependent on imports.

The new government also looked to private foreign investors both as a source of finance for reviving existing industries and creating new ones and as a source of business expertise. Ghana has remained a predominantly private enterprise economy. Business management by politicians, essayed under the Nkrumah regime, had not achieved the hoped-for results, and the new government, of a somewhat more conservative complexion, was more inclined to favor private enterprise, often in joint participation with government. Consequently, many of the former state enterprises were being offered for participation and management by foreign investors, and foreign investment in new projects or enterprises was welcomed.

The government was firmly resolved, however, that such foreign participation should be to the benefit of Ghana. Already saddled with a number of unproductive or shoddy projects promoted to the Nkrumah regime by British and other European contractors, the new government was resolved that the new foreign investment approved should be demonstrably productive and profitable and that projects approved should be able in time to pay their own way. Moreover, the government would participate in most projects on equal footing with the foreign investors to safeguard the national interest. Provisions in most of the investment agreements also ensured that Ghanaian personnel would be employed in both labor and managerial positions wherever available. Nevertheless, there were still many instances of inadequate planning of investment projects.

Disillusioned by learning of some of the abuses of supplier credit contracts under the Nkrumah regime, the press and public were even more vigilant concerning foreign investment arrangements, and public criticism or concern was frequently expressed when new contracts were announced (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Similar nationalist sentiments resulted in the decrees of 1968 and 1969 that prohibited foreign ownership of small- or medium-scale retail operations and affected the residence permits of non-Ghanaians (chiefly Africans) engaged in petty trading and other street activities. Further legislation in 1970 reserved a number of commercial activities to Ghanaian ownership (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

Some form of economic development planning has been practiced in Ghana for decades. The first official economic plan was the Ten-Year Development Plan of 1920-30, evolved by Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg of the British colonial administration. The Ten-Year Development Plan for 1950-60 was later changed to the First Five Year Plan. Postindependence plans were the Consolidation Development Plan for Fiscal Year 1957/1958—1958/1959; the Second Development Plan for 1958-64, and the Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development for 1963/64—1969/70. After the political coup of February 1966 the National Liberation Council (NLC) scrapped the overambitious and bankrupt seven-year plan and used the 1966-67 interval for stabilization and a pause in heavy investment spending.

In mid-1967 the National Liberation Council introduced its moderate two-year development program, based upon a

30-percent devaluation of the cedi to the equivalent of US$0.98. By the end of 1969 it reported that the targets of the plan had largely been achieved, notably in agriculture, forestry, and fishing. The fiscal year 1969/70 was used to complete the projects incorporated in the two-year plan. Pending review of economic problems and priorities by international teams of development economists, the government announced an annual plan for 1970/71. Its target is an annual growth rate of between 3.5 and 5 percent, and it will constitute the first installment of a new five-year national development plan under preparation in 1970.

At the end of 1970 the country's economic position remained precarious. There was a considerable income gap between the rural subsistence areas of the north and the more prosperous rural and urban areas of the south, but even the urban south was feeling the pinch of mounting unemployment and continuing inflation. The overall inflationary pressure of investment and consumer demand had been moderated, but the failure to increase food production during the 1960s, along with deficiencies in storage and transport facilities, had caused local food prices to double since 1963 (see ch. 6, Living Conditions).

To ameliorate these and other structural problems, the government would need improved foreign exchange resources. Cocoa earnings and foreign assistance would not be enough to end the substantial foreign exchange shortfall in prospect. Attainment of the government's economic objectives would require not only an increased rate of private foreign investment but also more effective taxation and other measures to promote savings. Unless policies to control imports, promote exports, foster public and private savings, and plan and execute investment projects could be made more effective, foreign assistance alone could not produce an adequate rate of growth. Consequently, the government was considering measures to rationalize its administrative and planning structure, assign economic priorities, and devote more careful study to the feasibility of proposed development projects to permit more effective utilization of foreign aid and other investment. Greater stress would be placed on the encouragement of cocoa and other agricultural exports, and the use of price incentives was being considered. Import substitution and other projects designed to conserve foreign exchange were receiving priority consideration.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the mainstay of the country's economy. It engages between 60 and 70 percent of the active population and probably contributes to the livelihood of a larger share of the dependent population. It is thought to contribute from one-third to one-half of the gross domestic product, depending largely on annual fluctuations in cocoa harvests.

Cocoa alone accounted for 60 to 65 percent of export earnings during most of the 1960s and is a major source of government revenue and development expenditure. Cocoa earnings have usually determined the state of national prosperity from year to year, although local areas of the economy may depend upon other market crops or a combination of staple food crops, market crops, and fish catches.

Despite the prevalence of agriculture as an occupation, the country in early 1971 was not yet self-sufficient in foodstuffs, and during the 1960s production yields did not keep pace with the food needs of the growing population. Small and fragmented holdings are prevalent in most areas, and the methods of cultivation employed result in low average yields of food crops. It is difficult to keep productive breeds of livestock in two-thirds of the country because of the tsetse fly. Consequently, livestock, meat, and dairy products are regular imports. In many years there are also sizable imports of cereals or other staple foods, as well as tinned goods and luxuries (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). In the 1960s sugar was still being imported, as domestic sugarcane had not been adequately developed.

Small-scale individual peasant holdings are the most important form of farming enterprise, accounting for probably more than 85 percent of total output in the 1960s. The average independent holding is thought to be about six acres, but soil fertility and water supply vary greatly: in the forest zone, for example, the average tilled holding is probably about three acres. In the 1960s state farms and cooperative farms were not making a very substantial contribution to production. The significance of large-scale plantations in production was still very limited, although Ghanaian farmers had traditionally displayed ability as managers and shown enterprise as purchasers of land in response to market incentives.

The country's agriculture comprises a complex spectrum of forms of organization and methods of cultivation. Independent peasant farming predominates. Subsistence cultivation is still common in the northern savanna, although marketing of local produce is developing. In the south, however, even staple food crops are largely grown for market, and subsistence production is very limited. In the country as a whole, the principal food crops are yams, cassava, plantains, cocoyams, sorghum (known in Ghana as guinea corn), and maize (corn) (see table 13). Besides cocoa, nonfood cash crops in the south included coffee,

Table 13. Principal Food Crops of Ghana, 1964 and 1966-69[1] [2]

Crop	1964		1966		1967		1968		1969	
	Area Planted[3]	Production[4]	Area Planted[3]	Production[4]	Area Planted[3]	Production[4]	Area Planted[3]	Production[4]	Area Planted[3]	Production[4]
Maize (corn)	500	170	620	353	570	278	517	253	680	300
Sorghum (Guinea corn)	411	113	434	107	299	83	298	72	359	96
Millet	255	...	333	66	323	78	271	57	400	90
Rice	105	42	65	29	88	42	88	42	100	60
Groundnuts	159	...	80	20	95	20	...	...	...	...
Cassava	402	...	364	1,152	342	1,156	313	1,058	400	1,350
Yams and cocoyams	603	...	431	1,170	416	1,219	465	1,382	530	2,000
Plantain	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	700

[1] Estimates are highly provisional.
[2] Excludes cocoa.
[3] In thousand acres.
[4] In thousand metric tons.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey, 1969*, Accra, 1970.

oil palm, and copra. Plantations had also been established to produce rubber, sugarcane, pineapples, and a variety of other products, but production was still very limited in 1970.

The country is located in a zone of transition, from moist equatorial conditions in the south to a drier tropical climate in the north. Its agricultural zones are determined by the variations of climate and soil and correspond roughly to the zones of natural vegetation (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Rainfall ranges from an annual average of eighty-five inches in the rain forest of the southwest to between forty and fifty inches in the north. In the coastal savanna, annual rainfall averages less than thirty inches.

It is customary to distinguish broadly three main agricultural regions: the interior savanna of the north, the forest zone of the south, and the coastal savanna (see fig. 10). Within these broad zones, however, there is considerable local variation. Other readily distinguishable zones include the fertile Volta Delta in the southeastern corner of the country, the tropical rain forest in the southwestern corner, and the strand region of marsh and swamp that runs between the coastal savanna and the sea, except on the central stretch between Axim and Cape Coast. Within the vast interior savanna of the north are several distinctive subzones, notably the yam belt in its southern portion.

Most of the coastal savanna is not suited to agriculture, but the fertile Volta Delta is a center of production for maize, palm oil and shallots. Coconut palms are traditionally grown along most of the coast, although they have suffered from blight in the southeast.

Most of the country's agricultural wealth has been produced in the forest zone. The forest has been progressively cleared for cultivation, although for cocoa and some other crops a high forest canopy may be retained to preserve the fertility of the soil. The limit of cocoa cultivation extends north of the forest zone only in one or two areas. The areas of maximum cocoa production have remained within the forest zone, moving progressively westward since the late nineteenth century. Cassava, cocoyams, plantains, and yams are the most important food crops in the forest zone, and maize, rice, coffee, and a fairly wide range of fruits and vegetables are also grown. Kola nuts for stimulant extract are grown in the Ashanti Region and the Eastern Region and exported, largely to neighboring countries. In some areas food crops are sometimes interplanted with cocoa trees during the first few years, but cocoa and rice are the main crops grown in pure stands. Most other crops are intermixed, as insurance against crop failure and as soil cover. Maize is grown in most zones of the country wherever annual

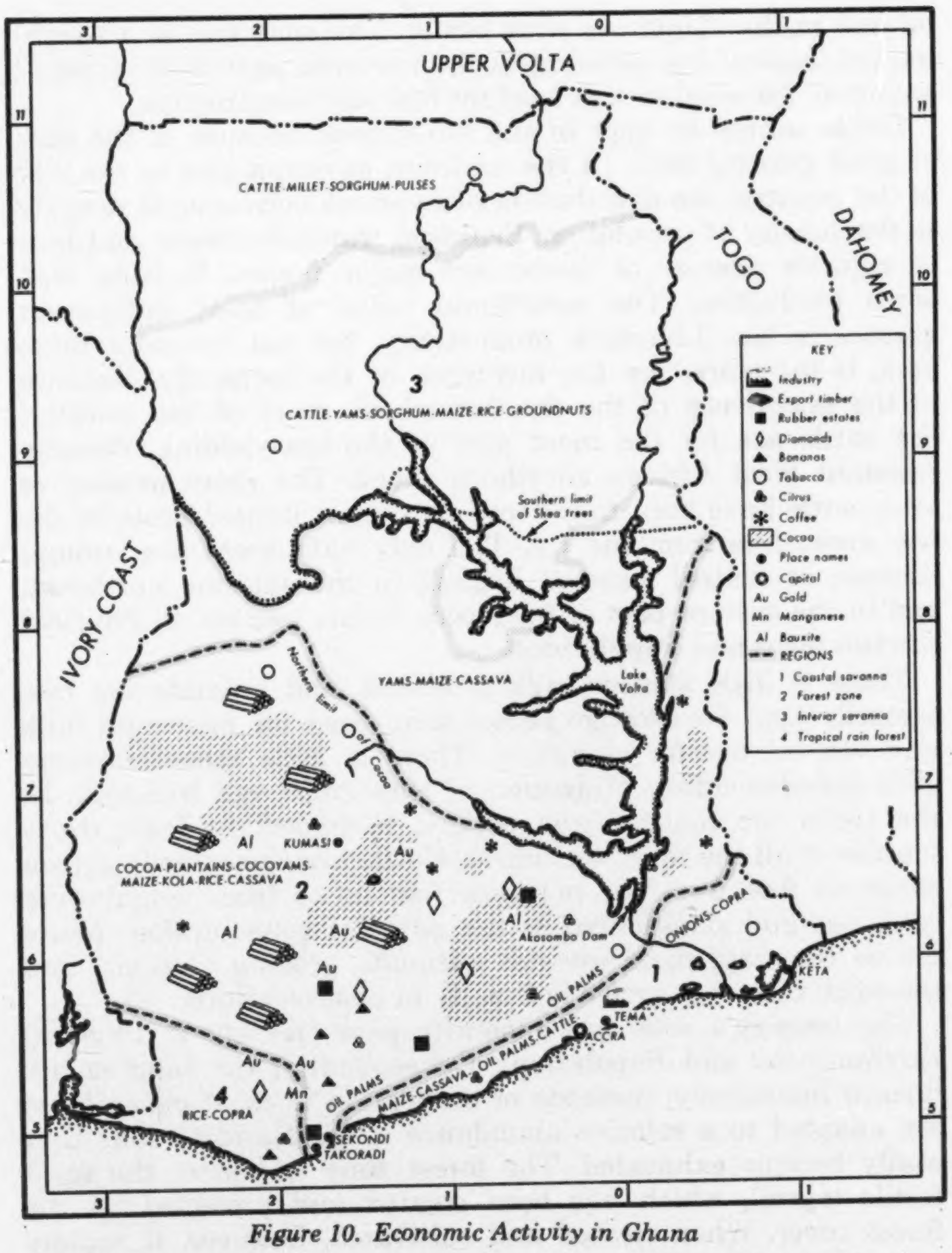

UPPER VOLTA
TOGO
DAHOMEY
IVORY COAST
CATTLE-MILLET-SORGHUM-PULSES
3
CATTLE-YAMS-SORGHUM-MAIZE-RICE-GROUNDNUTS
Southern limit of Shea trees
YAMS-MAIZE-CASSAVA
Lake Volta
Northern limit of Cocoa
KUMASI
COCOA-PLANTAINS-COCOYAMS-MAIZE-KOLA-RICE-CASSAVA
2
Akosombo Dam
ONIONS-COPRA
1
KETA
OIL PALMS
TEMA
ACCRA
OIL PALMS-CATTLE
MAIZE-CASSAVA
4
RICE-COPRA
SEKONDI
TAKORADI
Au
Mn
Al
3
2
1
0
1
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
KEY
Industry
Export timber
Rubber estates
Diamonds
Bananas
Tobacco
Citrus
Coffee
Cocoa
Place names
Capital
Au Gold
Mn Manganese
Al Bauxite
REGIONS
1 Coastal savanna
2 Forest zone
3 Interior savanna
4 Tropical rain forest

Figure 10. Economic Activity in Ghana

rainfall is adequate, particularly where there are two rainy seasons during the year.

The interior savanna comprises the Northern and Upper regions. Before the formation of Lake Volta, the Volta Region was also predominantly savanna, with only about one-eighth of its surface under woodland. Drought-resistant sorghum and millet are the principal crops in the far north. In the central belt the principal crop is the yam, which does not require a very fertile soil or much rainfall. Groundnuts, rice, pulses, and tobacco are also grown in the southern part of the savanna. Shea nuts are an important oilseed, used for fuel as well as for oil and in the ubiquitous shea butter. The shea tree is a rough-barked tropical tree growing in the northern part of the interior savanna. Its wood is also used for fuel and construction.

Cattle cannot be kept in the forest zone because of the lack of good grazing land. In the northern savanna and in the rest of the country, the distribution of livestock corresponds roughly to the density of population. Seasonal water shortages and lack of suitable pasture or fodder are major factors limiting livestock production. The nutritional value of most indigenous grasses is low. Livestock productivity, but not livestock numbers, is influenced by the incidence of the tsetse fly. Because of the prevalence of the fly throughout most of the country, the cattle are for the most part of the low-yielding, disease-resistant West African shorthorn breed. The more productive zebu cattle have been introduced on only a limited scale in the few areas free from the fly. The only safe areas are around Kumasi in central Ashanti Region; in the extreme northeast; and in the eastern part of the Accra Plains (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

There is little surplus milk produced, and animals are customarily kept for prestige rather than bred for meat and milk and weeded out for slaughter. There is little mixed farming with complementary utilization of both crops and livestock. In the 1960s the country was obliged to import at least three-fourths of all the meat consumed. Cattle are customarily driven south on foot from the northern regions or from neighboring countries and slaughtered at the point of consumption. Many die on the way; there are not adequate grazing stations, and the stock that does arrive is usually in poor condition.

The country's soils are generally poor (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Consequently, the land is not farmed intensively; methods of cultivation in most general use are adapted to a relative abundance of land and to soils that easily become exhausted. The forest zone possesses the most fertile topsoil, which has been created and protected by the forest cover. When cleared and cultivated, however, it rapidly loses its fertility. The most intensive cultivation, with shorter periods of fallow, is often found in the forest zone because of the greater initial effort involved in clearing the land.

The principal system of cultivation used is land rotation. The land is allowed to rest in long or short fallow, and recently cultivated plots are generally avoided when land is to be cleared and planted. For the most part, however, land in the area of the established settlement is used; migration is traditionally the exception. Shifting cultivation, in which the family or village takes up residence on new land, is practiced in only a few localities and is usually succeeded by land rotation. In the extreme northeast and northwest, compound farming is practiced, with the compound land manured and sometimes kept under continuous cultivation and surrounding fields under short fallow. In these areas population is dense, and soil erosion and exhaustion have become serious problems.

The slash-and-burn method is often used for clearing. Manuring is rarely employed. The implements almost universally used are the hoe and the cutlass. Use of farm machinery is rare. Bullock-drawn plows have been introduced in some areas and are traditionally used by tribes in the far north. Mixed cropping is common and, where cash crops are grown, they are often combined or alternated with subsistence crops in cultivation.

Soil and water conservation measures, including controlled grazing, have had some success in the north, where erosion and population pressure on the land have been serious problems. The progress of resettlement schemes has been disappointing, however. Inheritance has created fragmented holdings that are often of uneconomic size, and with exhaustion of the soil there have been frequent food shortages in some areas.

Cocoa

The Eastern Region, near Lake Volta, was the cradle of the country's cocoa production and remained the most intensive cocoa-producing area in the world until surpassed by the Ashanti Region in 1942. The areas of maximum cocoa production have since moved westward within the forest zone. In crop year 1966/67 the Ashanti Region produced 34 percent of total cocoa purchases; Brong-Ahafo Region, 23 percent; Eastern Region, 18 percent; Central Region, 13 percent; Western Region, 7 percent; and Volta Region, 5 percent.

Cocoa production is the sector commonly cited as an example of rural capitalism in the country because of the early initative displayed by migrant cocoa farmers in responding to demand potential. Production is thought to be almost entirely in the hands of independent Ghanaian peasants. Little is known of the average size of farming units, but fragmentary studies have provided some indication of the sophistication of social organization to be found in this type of indigenous farming.

The first cocoa farms were established in the late nineteenth century by Akuapem farmers from the area north of Tema. These farmers possessed capital from the sale of palm oil and rubber and other sources, which they proceeded to invest in land for cocoa farming. Because land was scarce around the

Akuapem Ridge, they began in the 1890s to migrate into western and northwestern Akuapem, especially around Adawso. After 1897 they began to migrate farther westward into Akyem country west of the Densu River and twenty-five years later penetrated the Ashanti Region. By the 1950s most of the early cocoa-growing areas of Akuapem east of the Densu River and south of Koforidua, along with southern Akyem Abuakwa west of the Densu River, had been devastated by swollen shoot disease and virtually abandoned for cocoa-growing purposes.

The migrant Akuapem farmers were supplemented in due course by migrant cocoa farmers from other areas, including Shai, Krobo, and other Ga-Adangbe and Guan peoples (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). The Akyem Abuakwa region was then uninhabited forest, and they had no difficulty in negotiating the purchase of land from the reigning chiefs. As they moved westward, the migrants have had to give more for their land purchases and meet more conditions.

Two main types of land tenure were used. The matrilineal Akuapem (Akan) used the family system to divide land among kinsmen; the patrilineal Akuapem (Guan) and the Ga-Adangbe used the company system to distribute strips among contributing members. Later the two systems came to be used interchangeably by matrilineal or patrilineal groups. The Krobo farmers were also accustomed to migrate in companies known as *huza* (see Glossary).

Land was—and still is—regarded by many such groups as the only reputable savings bank, and surplus cash was invariably invested in new land. At first the women remained in the home villages to cultivate food crops while the men undertook the commercial business of migrant cocoa production. Before long, however, ownership of cocoa land by women became quite common. The introduction of motor trucks beginning in the 1920s extended the range of migration, but the migrants almost invariably retain close ties to the original home village.

Large-scale employment of labor developed before 1914, along with the development of the indigenous cocoa-growing system. Of the systems of labor used in cocoa growing, two are employed primarily in the cocoa harvest—the *abusa* system and the *nkotokuano* system. Both the *abusa* and a number of the *nkotokuano* laborers are usually strangers—that is, farmers originating in another region or district. They live on the cocoa farm with their families and are employed to look after the farm and work in the harvest. They are rarely left in sole charge of the farm, however; in the absence of the owner their work is usually supervised by a relative.

The *abusa* man may look after one or more farms and receives one-third of the crop for his labor. The *nkotokuano* man will also look after a variety of tasks, but his principal task is plucking cocoa. With lesser responsibilities, he receives less than the *abusa* man and is paid by the load. In addition to these two basic systems, there is ordinary day labor; piecework contract employment for clearing, weeding, and other jobs; and annual employment. Persons engaged under such systems do not usually have their families with them.

Low world cocoa prices during most of the 1960s reduced the country's foreign exchange earnings and were a major factor in the stagnation of the economy during the decade. Partly in consequence of the curtailment of foreign exchange resources and limited economic growth, the economy became still more dependent on cocoa. Activity in cocoa production reached its apex during the early 1960s, in response to the relatively high prices of the 1950s. In the first half of the 1960s world demand increased only marginally because of the high prices of the preceding decade. Supply expanded more rapidly than demand, and prices fell.

Thus, in spite of the large increase in Ghana's production, its cocoa earnings increased only marginally, from an annual average of the equivalent of US$180 million in the 1954-59 period to about US$190 million in the early 1960s. In the same period Ghana's cocoa production had increased by 79 percent in quantity. In the crop year 1964/65 a bumper crop was produced, but dumping of Ghanaian cocoa on the West European market by the Soviet Union produced a very serious price decline and permitted stockpiling by consuming industries that extended the low prices for three more years (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

Perhaps the gravest consequence of the low prices of the early and middle 1960s was the reduction in new cocoa plantings and consequent increase in the average age of existing plantings. There had been a considerable increase in plantings between the 1950s and 1960s, raising the country's estimated cocoa production capacity by about 300,000 metric tons a year. About one-third of this increased capacity may have been ascribable to the use of insecticides, but two-thirds was attributable to new plantings in response to improved prices.

With the price slump of the crop year 1964/65, however, new plantings came to a halt. It is thought that few farmers abandoned cocoa production entirely. More probably, they began to spend more of their time on alternative crops, such as foodstuffs and palm oil. There is also evidence that hired laborers were laid off in large numbers, perhaps as many as 50,000. Those who remained in cocoa production were earning 20 percent less, in terms of purchasing power, in 1969 than in 1960.

The cocoa crop of the 1966/67 season was the lowest in seven years. Weather was a major factor, but the low price to the producer and a shortage of labor were also of importance. The margin between the export price realized and the price to the producer had been widening, mostly because of the need for government revenue but partly as a consequence of a deemphasis on cocoa production in economic policy. Producer prices and the purchasing, marketing, and export of cocoa are controlled by the state-operated Cocoa Marketing Board, established in 1947. The board fixes in advance the price to be paid to the farmers each season. The board's policy has long been a focus of national controversy, with cocoa farmers in the Ashanti Region and other cocoa-producing regions forming a significant element in the electorate, notably in opposition to Nkrumah.

Since the coup of 1966 the government has been somewhat more favorable to the interests of cocoa producers and to the expansion of cocoa production. A guaranteed floor was placed under the price for a period of three years, and the annual price gradually increased through the 1969/70 crop year. Although some critics object that in the absence of a world cocoa agreement increased production may cause a new fall in the world market price, the minister of agriculture stated in late 1970 that the government can only help to determine the level of the international cocoa price if Ghana remains a major world supplier (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

From 1966 to 1969 export prices as well as producer prices increased significantly, but room remained for gradual improvement in the producer price to permit the smooth and stable evolution of expanded cocoa production. At the end of the 1960s the production capacity of the existing cocoa tree plantings was thought to be considerably higher than actual current production. The low exploitation of capacity was a result of the low producer price level as well as the limited availability of insecticides. Throughout 1969 the world market price was quite high, and the outlook for world demand through the ensuing decade was thought to be improving (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). If too drastic a rise in production could be avoided, rising demand should permit a more favorable price situation than in the 1960s.

The cocoa crop is subject to two main diseases—swollen shoot and capsid damage—both of which have caused recurrent crop failures during the 1960s as well as in earlier years. Swollen shoot is a serious virus disease transmitted by the mealy bug. It attacks both young and mature trees and can kill a mature tree in three years. The first outbreak occurred in 1936. The heaviest incidence has been in the so-called abandoned area of the Eastern Region. A campaign to contain the spread of swollen shoot was launched in the 1950s and in the 1960s was extended to the already devastated area of the Eastern Region. There is no firm agreement on the extent of the losses in production from swollen shoot or on the increase in production that can be attributed to containment of the disease.

In 1969 detailed data were collected in an area covering 151,000 acres in the swollen shoot devastated area of the Eastern Region for a rehabilitation scheme to be carried out with financial assistance from the World Bank. The Ministry of Agriculture, the Soil Research Institute, the Cocoa Research Institute, the University of Ghana, and the Cocoa Marketing Board jointly surveyed the problem and submitted a report to the World Bank. In 1970 N₵6 million had been appropriated for the rehabilitation program. The World Bank funds were to be used for rehabilitation and cultivation of about 100,000 acres of cocoa in the area around Suhum.

Capsid damage results from a fungus infection that frequently develops after capsid flies have pierced the cocoa pods or branches, producing lesions. Serious outbreaks have produced losses of as much as 40,000 metric tons of cocoa annually. The capsid flies may be combated with insecticides, and in recent years government campaigns have concentrated on distribution of Gammalin 20. Its use by farmers had increased materially by 1969 and was credited with a reduction in the incidence of capsid damage. The potency and possible destructive potential of Gammalin has not been finally determined, however.

Agricultural Trends in the 1960s

While the modern sector of the economy was expanding in the 1960s, agriculture remained largely stagnant. The growth of food production had kept pace with demand until the late 1950s and early 1960s, when it began to fall behind. In some areas the number of people working on the land increased; and yields declined because of overcrowding and other factors. In the country as a whole, however, the labor force in agriculture declined as a result of migration to the towns, compulsory schooling, and a decrease in the immigrant labor force. Labor and financial resources were diverted to state farms, settlement projects, and schemes for the production of nonfood crops, such as tobacco, cotton, or palm oil. With mounting demand for foodstuffs encountering inadequate domestic supply, food imports have become a burden on the balance of payments, and during most of the 1960s domestic food prices rose sharply, greatly exceeding the cost of imported produce. Moreover, no significant new agricultural exports have been developed to supplement the earnings from cocoa.

During the first half of the 1960s agricultural policy was concentrated on direct participation by government, in the form of state farms, settlement projects, and food-processing plants financed by supplier credits. Most of these schemes proved costly failures; in any event, many were abandoned in the course of the decade. The needs of independent producers for improved seeds, fertilizers, and agricultural credit were neglected. Because of the foreign exchange crisis, many farmers were unable to purchase or replace needed implements. Extension services for independent producers were inadequate. Feeder roads in farming districts also fell into disrepair during this period.

The abrupt shifts in policy also extended to farm mechanization. Efforts to facilitate small-scale mechanization were neglected in favor of heavy imports of tractors and equipment for state farms. Tractor imports were often left in the charge of local politicians. Those tractors that eventually did arrive were imported from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, and there was a problem in obtaining spare parts. Foreign exchange procedures imposed long delays in obtaining both the equipment and replacement parts. By the end of the 1960s only a fraction of the machines imported were in usable condition, and tractor hire services had fallen into disrepute in some areas.

After Nkrumah was deposed, the emphasis on state farms was abandoned, and agricultural policy began to stress assistance to independent farmers. By the end of the 1960s the government had broadened its objectives, placing less emphasis on ambitious, high-cost projects involving direct government operations and more emphasis on assisting large numbers of independent farmers to increase their production. It was prepared to establish priorities and to devote the greater part of its resources to advisory work and other supporting services to farmers.

By 1970 there was a complex range of local agricultural problems to be tackled, varying from one region to the next. In some areas cocoa and coconut trees had been blighted by disease. The sugarcane project was badly organized, and sugar producers had abandoned the use of fertilizer so that the two sugar refineries were operating at a fraction of capacity and heavy imports were required. Palm oil was being produced by a government-run project at three times the world market price. Grain production was suffering from poor cultivation methods and from bottlenecks in storage, transport, and distribution.

Plans for the future included rehabilitation and planting schemes for cocoa and coconut palms (copra). Improvement of maize and rice production would be promoted by provision of improved strains of seed, fertilizers, agricultural credit, and demonstration projects. Efforts to improve maize production would be concentrated in the south. A few Ghanaian farmers had already shown great ability in inaugurating rice production, and there were large areas of seasonally flooded land in the Northern and Upper regions suitable for the introduction of mechanized rice production. Apart from rice production, however, there were no plans for large-scale mechanization in the near future.

By 1970 a few strains of improved, high-yielding rice and maize seed had already been developed for local conditions. If independent farmers could be induced to use these strains of seed in conjunction with fertilizer, yields might be increased in a relatively short time. There were also plans for further research with a view to developing high-protein varieties of the improved seed.

Also among the plans for agricultural development in the five-year period from 1971 to 1976 were schemes for the production of fruit for canning and vegetables for urban consumption. The sole irrigation project proposed was at Densu, about eight miles west of Accra, where about 3,500 acres might be irrigated for vegetable production. Apart from this one project, the planners felt that the increases in agricultural production attainable in the near future could be achieved more economically by rainfed or dryland methods, without costly investment in irrigation facilities.

The Ghana Rubber Estate was established in the Western Region north of Sekondi-Takoradi by the government in partnership with the Firestone Rubber Company. The estate, covering 25,000 acres, will form the nucleus for a smallholder rubber production project. A smallholder groundnut production program has been suggested for the Northern Region, to begin in 1972. Other proposed agricultural projects concern cotton (for the Northern and Upper regions), tobacco, and cattle.

Land Tenure

In principle, no land is unowned in Ghana. The pattern of landholding and use is based upon kinship, either matrilineal or patrilineal. In areas of dense population, where there is pressure upon the land, rights to the use of land are permanently connected with defined parcels. Elsewhere, the right of kinship may entitle the user only to some parcel of land within the tribal area. In the twentieth century land has progressively acquired a utilitarian value that in practice tends to outweigh its religious aspect, except in the case of specific shrines. Sale of land, in the equivalent of a freehold, is frequent. Many ethnic groups frown upon alienation of land to "strangers" from other areas. Nevertheless, such alienations by negotiation with local leaders do take place. Migrant cocoa farmers, for example, have commonly acquired use of land in areas other than their home village.

In certain parts of southern Ghana among many of the Akan peoples, the symbol of the matrilineage is the stool, which is regarded as enshrining the souls of ancestors. In these areas all vacant land is considered stool land, legally defined as lands or interests in land controlled by the lineage for the benefit of its members or subjects of the tribe. Under the same legislation, private land is defined as all lands that have been alienated from stool lands and are owned or held by an individual or group of individuals. Stool land is not subject to inheritance, but individual holdings may be inherited.

There is no stool land in the Northern Region or among the Ewe or Adangbe and very little among the Fante (an Akan group) (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Among the Adangbe and certain other peoples, there is an institution of agricultural companies known as *huza*, whose members pool their resources to acquire large tracts of land for settlement, particularly for cocoa planting. The land is acquired by the group, but thereafter individual members receive strips in proportion to their financial contribution.

There is no registration of titles to land, although foreigners must acquire certificates of concession. In the late 1960s the National Liberation Council appointed a commission to review the entire highly complex question of land tenure, with a view to facilitating agricultural development.

FORESTRY

Tropical hardwoods are the country's second major export after cocoa (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Log and sawn wood exports in the 1960s comprised a variety of exotic hardwoods, with obeche, wawa, utile, African mahogany, sapele, and makore the most important. In 1969 Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom were the principal markets for logs. The leading markets for sawn wood were the United Kingdom and Italy. The value of log exports still exceeded that of sawn lumber. Besides its many sawmills, the country had also well-established production of plywood and veneers.

High forest, consisting of evergreen rain forest and moist semideciduous forest, occupied the entire southwestern part of the country (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Outside the forest reserve, however, the forest land was rapidly being stripped for timber or cleared for cultivation. By the end of the 1960s the better quality timber in unreserved forest areas was nearing exhaustion. Of the closed forest zone extending over about 31,760 square miles in the south, only about 8,390 square miles remained as potentially productive forest. Of this area, 2,585 square miles were classified as unreserved forest, and 5,805 square miles were earmarked as forest reserves.

In the late 1960s the bulk of timber production was still coming from the unreserved area, but future high-quality timber production would depend on increasing the yield from the forest reserves through sound forest management and reforestation schemes. In 1968 the reserves were furnishing less than one-third of the country's log production, but it was estimated that with good management they could eventually supply both domestic and export demand. Of the more than 200 species of timber-size trees grown in the country's forests, only about 25 were being marketed in the late 1960s, and only 15 species had significant markets. It is thought that many of the species now unknown to the trade have valuable potential, and efforts were being made to bring them to the attention of the market.

The Timber Marketing Board governs marketing conditions for export. It has the power to approve all export contracts and to set upper and lower limits for timber and lumber prices. The board imposes export duties on timber and sawn wood, as well as a levy. To encourage the export of processed timber and of the lesser known species, the board reduced the levy to 1 percent for secondary species as against 3 percent for prime species. Export duties were also reduced, and railway freight rates were lowered for secondary species. In 1970 the government was planning to introduce a forestry bill designed to favor its policy of encouraging export of wood in processed form.

Export of tropical hardwoods encountered a series of vicissitudes during the 1960s. Production continued to increase, but overseas demand slackened partly because of the preference accorded by the European Economic Community (EEC) countries to their overseas associates and subsequently because of the devaluation of the franc and associated African currencies. At the same time internal demand for timber was mounting, competing with export demand. Serious transport bottlenecks developed on the rail route from the forest area to Sekondi-Takoradi, the major timber port, and bottlenecks in the port itself were even more significant. In 1970 renewed efforts were made to find a means to solve these problems and make export prices more consistently competitive. Wood exports appeared to benefit from the devaluation of the cedi in 1967 and improved again in 1969.

FISHING

Ghana differs from some other African countries in that consumption of fish is traditionally high, exceeding consumption of meat. Because of the tsetse fly and other conditions, meat has always been relatively costly and in short supply. Consequently, fish is a valuable source of protein in the local diet, and per capita consumption has been steadily rising; it was thought to surpass 30 pounds in the late 1960s. Total fish consumption in 1968 was estimated at 112,000 metric tons, including sizable imports. Smoked fish is preferred. The marine catch supplies the bulk of estimated consumption. The planners foresee a further rise in fish consumption as production and consumer incomes rise.

There are nearly 200 fishing villages and towns along the coast and on the inland waters, and most coastal tribes traditionally participate in the dugout canoe fishery, which operates within five miles of shore. Among several coastal tribes, fishing has been the main source of livelihood. The Fante, in particular, are engaged in fishing all along the coast of western Africa. The canoe fishery usually employs large, fine-meshed nets and lands mostly sardines and mackerel. Beach seines are also used. The Accra fishermen are particularly noted for their skill in catching tuna and sharks.

The first motorized fishing vessels were introduced in the 1950s. Distant-water fishing began in the early 1960s, and the government promoted rapid development of a modern fishery. From 1957 to 1967 fish production from marine and inland waters had quadrupled to 110,150 metric tons, or a value of more than US$17 million, with the increase coming almost entirely from the motorized marine fleet. More than 90 percent of the estimated catch was from marine waters. The Volta Delta lagoons, the new Lake Volta, and other inland waters had excellent fishery potential, but their contribution in the 1960s was not significant (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

The Fisheries Department assembled annual statistics on marine fish landings by motor vessels only. They show that in

1967, for example, about 26.7 percent of the catch from motor vessels was landed by Ghanaian individuals, mostly fishing the coastal waters. This category would probably include outboard canoes. Some 27.6 percent was landed by the private Ghanaian fishing companies, mostly fishing distant waters. The State Fishing Corporation, also fishing distant waters, accounted for 14.8 percent of the catch from motor vessels.

Foreign vessels under contract landed 16 percent of the catch. They included Soviet, Japanese, French, and Polish vessels. Another 14.9 percent was landed in Ghana by foreign-owned vessels not under contract. These were mostly Japanese and South Korean tuna vessels working in accord with an agreement between the government of Ghana and Star-Kist International of Tema, a subsidiary of Star-Kist Tuna of California.

In the 1960s motorized fishing vessels were being built in the boatyards at Tema and Sekondi, and trawlers were purchased from Britain and the Soviet Union, among other sources. In the late 1960s the country's fishing fleet was reportedly the best among black African nations. It included stern trawlers, side trawlers, seiners, and combination vessels, as well as several freezer-carriers and one cannery factory ship. New fishing harbors had been constructed at Tema, Takoradi, Elmina, Miamia, and Ada to handle the larger fleet.

In 1966 the country had some 412 powered fishing vessels, of which 58 were more than 100 feet in length. Not all were in use, however. There were 10,212 dugout canoes and 4,988 motorized canoes for fishing. In the 1960s more than 50,000 persons were thought to be employed in the canoe fishery. The Fisheries Department estimated total employment in fishing at about 63,500 in 1960, considerably higher than recorded in the official population census. About 2,000 were employed on motorized fishing vessels in 1960; the number has subsequently increased considerably, perhaps tripling.

There were a number of non-Africans employed as navigation crews on the larger fishing vessels, but Ghanaians were being trained to replace them. Schools for navigators and engineers have been established at Tema, Elmina, and Takoradi, and the government has negotiated an agreement with Norway for advanced training in relevant technical skills at the Nautical College at Nungua.

The modern fishing sector requires less labor than traditional fishery, and the number of persons engaged in fishing for sale may therefore have declined since 1960. Isolated reports in the late 1960s indicated that participation in the traditional dugout canoe fishery was on the decline in the face of competition from the modern fishing fleet. On the lower Volta River, for example, large numbers of fishermen had entered agriculture by 1965, local fish having been replaced by the large marine catch. Even in canoe fishery, however, average earnings, at about the equivalent of US$100 per capita, are generally higher than in traditional agriculture and other prevalent occupations, so that fishing continues to be a favored means of sustenance, particularly in periods of high unemployment. The seasonal character of traditional fishing makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the number engaged in this sector.

Ghana's cold-storage facilities for fish are among the best in tropical Africa. The largest capacity is owned by Ghana Cold Stores, a quasi-government corporation with mixed private and government investment. Private fishing firms own most of the remainder, but the State Fishing Corporation has a chain of smaller cold-storage depots. Freezing is used for wholesale storage and transport of fish to the interior, but there is little or no retail sale of frozen fish because of consumer preference for smoked fish. In the late 1960s smoked fish made up 70 percent of all fish sold at retail and more than 90 percent of all frozen fish sold. One advantage of freezing is that the fish can be smoked at the point of consumption, using local woods that impart the preferred flavor.

In addition to the newly developed wholesaling organizations, there are two traditional fishing and distribution systems. The most prevalent is the "mammy system," in which the actual catch is divided among the crew and given to each man's wife or female relative, who sells the fish and pays the fisherman. These "mammy" fishwives exercise a strong control over the traditional canoe fishery and small-scale distribution system, usually financing the entire operation, supplying needed nets and equipment on credit, and often keeping the fishermen in perpetual debt. They have adapted rapidly to new distribution methods and have expanded their operations to handle the larger catches of the modern fleet, speeding frozen fish to the interior in wooden-bodied trucks known as mammy wagons.

The other, less prevalent, traditional system is the "apapa fishery," developed particularly among the Ewe to manage the larger and more expensive nets required to catch the apapa or horse mackerel. Many canoe fishermen use costly nylon nets, which may represent a considerable investment. The nets may be the property of a single owner, who divides the returns among the crew, but the fishery derives its significance from the cooperative system often employed in which the catch is sold as a whole and expenses and proceeds are divided equally among the crew, which averages sixty men. This system has lent itself more readily to use on the modern fishing vessels than has the mammy system. Because the mammy system was so strongly entrenched, most fishermen were at first reluctant to join the modern fleet, but toward the end of the 1960s they were being increasingly attracted by the high returns in modern fishing.

In the 1960s the country's fishing fleet was engaged in distant-water fishing as well as coastal and canoe fishing. Its modern trawling fleet ranged nearly the entire western coast of Africa. The catch included a wide variety of marine and freshwater species (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Clams, shrimp, and spiny lobster have thus far been caught primarily by the canoe fishermen, but in the late 1960s the Fisheries Department with United Nations assistance was exploring the shrimp resources off the coast and in the Keta Lagoon area. At least four companies were planning shrimping operations on a sizable scale off the Ghanaian coast and elsewhere.

West Africa had first become a major fishing ground in the mid-1950s, when the Japanese discovered huge shoals with mackerel and herring along most of the western coast of the continent. In 1964 the Japanese began to withdraw from the area and were replaced by a vast Soviet fleet. Quantities of frozen fish consumed in Ghana were landed directly from Soviet vessels under contract. In 1962 the Soviet government agreed to sell a freezer-trawler fleet to Ghana on generous terms, and eighteen vessels were eventually delivered. They were paid for in part out of the profits realized from sales of Soviet-caught fish on the domestic market.

The State Fishing Corporation, established in 1961, developed a fleet of stern trawlers operating with mixed Ghanaian and non-African crews. It established a chain of small cold-storage depots and retail or wholesale outlets throughout the country, marketing frozen fish landed from its fleet and from foreign vessels under contract. The goals of the corporation were very ambitious, and it encountered personnel and management difficulties. In February 1966 the corporation had trawlers on order from Japan, Yugoslavia, Norway, and the United Kingdom. When the government changed, most of these orders were canceled, and a number of the corporation's trawlers were leased to private operators. In early 1968 most of its trawlers were laid up while contracts with non-African crews and management were being negotiated.

In 1967 a team of Norwegian consultants was called in to review the corporation's management and formulate plans to guide its future. In the late 1960s the corporation was being managed by a Norwegian firm on a strictly commercial basis.

Besides the state corporation, there were two large private corporations and a number of medium-sized companies engaged in fishing in the 1960s. By far the largest concern in the field was Makoadze Fisheries, reportedly the largest and most modern fishing enterprise among the new African nations. Its management included both Ghanaians and non-Africans, the managing director being a Ghanaian. It was an integrated operation with large cold-storage facilities, an ice-making plant, warehouse and storage capacity, a large modern engineering and repair workshop, and a large mixed fleet, including a factory trawler. The other large concern was Ocean Fisheries. It also had cold-storage facilities and a freezer transport, and its fleet included two large stern trawlers. Among the medium-sized companies were Soli Fisheries, Osudoku Fisheries, and Attok Fisheries.

There is room for considerable expansion of the country's fisheries, both in supplying growing demand as incomes rise and in replacing imports. Official trade statistics do not include fish landed from foreign vessels under contract (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). If these landings were included, fish imports in 1966 would probably have exceeded US$17 million in value. Vessels from the Soviet Union and Japan were major sources. Tinned sardines were imported from Spain, Morocco, and the Canary Islands, replacing the trade from South Africa, which had been suspended in 1961 in line with the antiapartheid embargo. If overfishing can be prevented and no unexpected fish migrations occur, the marine catch can be greatly increased by an expanded fishing fleet. A number of projects are focused on increasing the catch from the lagoons and from Lake Volta, whose potential annual fish production has been estimated at from 10,000 to 25,000 metric tons, if excessive weed and algae growth can be prevented.

MINING

In the late 1960s the country was a significant world producer of diamonds, manganese, gold, and bauxite (see fig. 2). Oil and gas in potentially significant quantities had been discovered in mid-1970, but their commercial exploitability was not yet determined. There was very limited production of salt and limestone and unexploited deposits of iron ore, beryl, ilmenite, nickel, graphite, and chromite (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

The country ranked fourth among world producers of diamonds, contributing from 5.6 to 7.3 percent of world production in the 1965–68 period. In the same period it furnished from 2.8 to 4.2 percent of world manganese production, ranking eighth among world suppliers. It was fifth among free-world gold producers but came far behind South Africa and the United States, furnishing only 1.8 percent of non-Communist world production. Despite extensive bauxite reserves, it was near the bottom of the list of world bauxite producers, in nineteenth place in 1968.

Gold, diamonds, and manganese are major exports and, in years of low cocoa prices, provide an important share of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Exports of crude minerals, including gold bullion and diamonds, made up 12 percent of recorded 1969 customs exports and about 22 percent of recorded 1966 exports. Significant quantities of diamonds are also smuggled out of the country. On the list of legal exports, gold brings the highest earnings, followed by industrial diamonds and manganese ore (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). The value of bauxite exports has thus far been materially lower.

At the time of the 1960 census some 48,221 persons were reported as employed in mining and quarrying. About 21,600 were employed in gold mining: 14,200 in the Western Region and more than 7,300 in the Ashanti Region. Nearly 20,100 were employed in diamond mining, principally in the Eastern Region. In 1960 about 31 percent of those engaged in diamond mining and about 18 percent of all those engaged in mining were migrants from Nigeria.

In 1966 some fifty-nine establishments with 1 or more paid employees reported 25,548 employees in mining and quarrying. This total excludes the independent African diamond diggers and their distributors. Of the establishments reporting, only eight were engaged in diamond mining, and eight were in metal mining; the majority were stone quarries or clay and sand pits. Of the total number of employees in mining and quarrying, only about 435 were non-Africans; 13,643 were in private enterprise, and 11,905 were employed by public authorities.

Gold Mining

The trade that gave the old Gold Coast its name was among the earliest economic activities of the area and was the lure that attracted explorers and traders from Europe and elsewhere. Most of the early production is believed to have come from alluvial deposits in the banks and beds of rivers and streams. Such deposits are easily accessible through rudimentary methods, such as panning. In the Ashanti Region, however, there was little alluvial gold, and such ore as was obtained came from the underground mines that reached the gold-bearing quartz reefs.

The earliest known European entry into gold mining was made by the Portuguese in 1471. British concessionaires began operation in the eighteenth century. Because of the lack of transport facilities, production was not substantial before the railway reached the minefields in 1901.

In the 1960s underground mines accounted for more than 90 percent of production; dredging accounted for the rest. Mining has been moving to progressively deeper levels as the deposits are depleted. The two major gold-mining areas are on the railway running north from the port of Sekondi-Takoradi: the Tarkwa mines, operated by the State Gold Mining Company, are in the Western Region; and some miles to the north are the privately mined Ashanti goldfields at Obuasi. Fine gold is extracted from the ore in reduction mills near the mines. Plans to construct a new gold refinery at Tarkwa were among the Soviet-financed projects abandoned in the retrenchment after 1966. In late November 1969 the Soviet government expressed its willingness to revive the project, but the Ghana government had not yet completed its review of this and the other projects involved.

The State Gold Mining Company, established in 1965, controlled about 35 percent of the gold-mining industry in the late 1960s, but its future role remained undetermined in late 1970. A more significant role has been played by Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, which in 1968 was leased to Lonrho, a London-based firm. The fifty-year lease agreement provided that the Ghana government would automatically receive 20 percent of the shares and would be given the opportunity to acquire an additional 20 percent. The government is also guaranteed a minimum income of at least 5 percent of the annual turnover of the company, which was to retain the name Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. The company planned to accelerate an expansion program initiated by the previous owners, and the government therefore anticipated increased state revenues from gold mining under the new agreement.

Gold production had declined through the 1963–66 period as lower grade deposits were reached. A number of mines had closed down. Output recovered somewhat in 1967 and, in 1968 and 1969, responded to buoyant world free-market prices. Ghana sells the bulk of its gold on the free market, and the establishment of the international two-tier gold price in March 1968 improved the country's earnings from exports of gold bullion. In 1970 the prospects for expanded gold production and earnings were seen as good. There were plans to solve some of the problems encountered by the State Gold Mining Company by closing down unprofitable mines and focusing upon two larger mines in the Tarkwa area.

Diamond Mining

As a diamond producer the country ranks after the Congo (Kinshasa), South Africa, and the Soviet Union. It produces mostly industrial diamonds. Before 1960 there was a free market in diamonds, and annual production was in excess of 3 million carats. Smuggling of diamonds began on a large scale with the imposition of strict exchange controls in 1960 and the foundation of the government Diamond Marketing Board in 1963. In 1968 recorded diamond sales amounted to about 2.4 million carats. The size of unrecorded production could not be accurately assessed, but it was thought that total production might have declined somewhat with the depletion of known surface deposits.

Diamond mining on a commercial scale began after World War II. Concessions of gold and diamond areas considered most suitable to large-scale commercial exploitation were granted to British companies, and the independent African miners continued to work less significant areas after the entry of the European companies. In 1960 it was estimated that independent African diggers produced more than 45 percent of total output, and in the late 1960s 90 percent of digger production was thought to be smuggled out of the country.

In the late 1960s the principal areas of diamond production were in the Birim River basin near Akwatia, west of Koforidua, and in the Bonsa River basin northwest of Sekondi-Takoradi. All four incorporated concerns had their concessions in the Birim area. By far the largest concession was held by a British firm, Consolidated African Selection Trust (CAST), which accounted for most of the nondigger production, or about 45 percent of estimated total output.

One of the three smaller British-owned firms, Takrowase Diamond Fields, was taken over by the government in 1961 but was liquidated in 1969. The other two firms were mining depleted deposits, one of them within the CAST concession area. In 1969 Lonrho obtained permission to prospect for diamonds in the Birim area. CAST was also studying a project known as the Birim River Dredging Scheme to recover diamonds from the river itself. If successful, it might add some 1.8 million carats to the country's annual production.

The government has been attempting to increase diamond production, discourage smuggling, and achieve a higher price for the country's diamonds on overseas markets. There has been considerable controversy over government policy, however, the mining firms contending that the price offered by the Diamond Marketing Board barely covers the costs of digging by the less capitalized producers. In 1969 the government was trying out a new marketing system intended to achieve a better price on world markets and also a higher producer price. It was also considering the establishment of processing industries in Ghana. In July 1967 it had abolished the export duty on diamonds in the hope of discouraging smuggling. By late 1970, however, there was as yet no evidence that these measures had resulted in any material increase in sales through official channels.

In 1967 African diggers had sold only 18,000 carats to the Diamond Marketing Board, compared to 1.2 million carats in 1961. One estimate has placed the annual foreign exchange loss from diamond smuggling at US$14 million, equivalent to about 2 million carats a year. The estimate may be high, but there is evidence that a sizable proportion of Ghanaian diamond winnings are sold on the active diamond markets of Lome (Togo), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Lagos (Nigeria), and Cotonou (Dahomey). A large number of Nigerians were thought to be active in the Ghanaian diamond industry and trade before the expulsion measures of 1969 and 1970 (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages).

Other Minerals

The only manganese deposits under exploitation in the 1960s were at the Nsuta mine at Tarkwa just northwest of Sekondi-Takoradi, once the largest manganese mine in the world. It was operated by the African Manganese Company, a wholly owned British subsidiary of the Union Carbide Corporation. At the end of the 1960s the mine was nearing exhaustion, but there were plans for exploiting lower grade deposits, and new discoveries had been made (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Production of manganese ore and concentrates in the late 1960s ranged from 400,000 to 600,000 metric tons a year.

The country is thought to have vast reserves to bauxite exceeding 400 million metric tons (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). Exploration was still underway in 1970, and reports were generally favorable. Actual production was very limited in contrast to the existing potential. There had been some bauxite exports to Japan, but in the late 1960s bauxite production totaled less than 350,000 metric tons a year. It was confined to the British Aluminum Company's Awaso mine in the Western Region, located at the end of the railway spur running west from the junction at Dunkwa. The entire output of bauxite was shipped to the company's alumina plant at Burntisland in Scotland. At the same time, the Volta Aluminum Company (Valco) smelter at Tema was using only imported alumina, brought by sea from plants in the United States and elsewhere.

The Valco smelter at Tema contributes about US$7 million a year in foreign exchange earnings to the Ghanaian economy, chiefly in the form of charges for electric power, local labor, and some goods purchased on the domestic economy. The cost of the Akosombo Dam is thus being paid off very gradually. The government in 1970, however, was dissatisfied with the level of contribution of the project and was actively seeking means of deriving greater foreign exchange benefit from the country's fortunate combination of bauxite reserves and low-cost hydroelectric power.

In the late 1960s Japanese firms were investigating the possibility of bauxite and aluminum production in Ghana. Valco was also looking into the potential for using Ghanaian bauxite. In December 1970 it was announced that a consortium of firms from the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands, Romania, and Ghana had submitted proposals to the Ghanaian government for setting up a bauxite and aluminum company in the country.

In 1960 a thirty-year agreement was concluded with Kaiser Aluminum, which holds 90 percent of Valco, and Reynolds Metals, which holds 10 percent. It provided that construction of power facilities would be financed by the government, chiefly from a World Bank loan. The United States Agency for International Development (AID) and the Export-Import Bank also helped to finance the project. Kaiser Aluminum undertook to construct the aluminum smelter and to take a specified amount of electric power from Ghana, whether or not actually consumed. Repayment on the debt contracted for construction of the dam and facilities was to be met from these power charges. Under the thirty-year agreement, Kaiser Aluminum will be entitled to continue to import alumina duty free until 1977 and at a very moderate rate of duty thereafter. Imports of equipment for the plant were also duty free. The plant also benefits from a ten-year income tax holiday and important concessions on other taxes and duties. Exports of aluminum are free of restrictions.

Perhaps more important is the fact that the smelter is receiving power virtually at cost price. It was estimated in 1966 that the price for power at the Tema smelter was among the lowest in the world, comparing favorably to the lowest cost power obtained at any other Kaiser Aluminum smelter. This makes it an economic proposition to produce aluminum from imported alumina, whereas with higher costs there would be a greater incentive to use local bauxite. The agreement's provision for some increase in the alumina duty after 1977 was designed as an incentive to use of Ghanaian bauxite, but in view of the overall cost structure it may not be an adequate inducement.

MANUFACTURING AND CONSTRUCTION

Even before completion of the Tema aluminum smelter in late 1966, the country's manufacturing complex compared favorably with those of most tropical African countries. By 1966 it had installed a fairly broad range of industries, with consumer goods predominating and some intermediate goods. There was little heavy industry. Manufacturing and construction were of secondary importance in the economic structure, both in terms of value added (domestic product) and employment. It was estimated that in 1967 manufacturing occupied about 9.2 percent of the labor force, and construction, 3.5 percent.

Because the undoubted advances in industrialization had been achieved at a heavy cost in debt and had assumed priority over progress in agriculture, the Nkrumah government's emphasis on rapid industrialization was a source of controversy in the years immediately after the coup. In 1966 less than 50 percent of the existing plant capacity in manufacturing was being utilized. A number of state-run industrial enterprises were operating at a loss, and a few were thought to be basically unremunerative. By 1969, 68 percent of the former state industries were privately run. Agricultural production of raw materials had lagged behind completion of processing industries so that most import-substitution industries were relying heavily on imported raw materials. Many local industries were engaged in the assembly of half-finished goods imported from abroad.

An extremely high percentage of industrial establishments is on a small artisan scale, with no paid employees. These operations proliferate in the clothing, footwear, and textile branch and in the food production branch so that these two branches predominate in the employment data, where very small-scale enterprises are included in the statistics, but are less significant where only operations with paid employment are included. Of 95,167 manufacturing establishments counted in 1962, 92 percent were based on self-employment and family labor only. Of 6,914 construction establishments reported, three-fifths had no paid employees at all.

A new system of annual industrial inquiries carried out since 1962 covers only establishments engaging 30 or more persons. On this basis there were in 1966 some 230 manufacturing units engaging a total of 39,482 persons. Among these larger units, textile and apparel manufacture is less predominant in employment than indicated by the more inclusive data. In 1966 the wood industries led these units in employment, with 31.9 percent of the people engaged in manufacturing and 17 percent of the value added. Next in employment were the manufacture of furniture, with 7.8 percent of the persons engaged and only 2 percent of value added; chemicals and related products, with 6.7 percent of employment and 9.1 percent of value added; and printing and publishing, with 6.7 percent of employment and 4.7 percent of value added.

If the branches of manufacturing in 1966 are ranked according to their contribution to the gross domestic product (value added) rather than to employment, an entirely different pattern emerges. On this basis tobacco manufacture was the most important industry, with 21 percent of the total value added (including taxes) in manufacturing. The beverage industries followed with 18 percent; the wood industries, with 17 percent; and chemicals and related products—a very inclusive grouping—with 9 percent.

Because there were only 230 enterprises engaging more than 30 persons and only 91 employing 100 or more persons, the structure of manufacturing may be perceptibly altered by new plant construction over a relatively short period of time. Moreover, only 50 percent of manufacturing capacity was being utilized in 1966 so that there is even greater room for changes in the composition of actual output. Few data are available on the structure of industry since 1966. Provisional data for 1968 reportedly indicated that the current value of industrial output may have increased considerably, with output in manufacturing and electric power showing the strongest increase. The principal increases in manufacturing were in textiles, footwear, and nonmetallic mineral products, notably cement.

Between 1966 and 1970 a number of sizable plants had come into operation. Potentially the most significant is the Valco aluminum smelter at Tema. Since it came into full production in 1968, Ghana has ranked among the top ten aluminum producers of the world. Because most of the leading producing countries are also major consumers of aluminum, Ghana may well rank higher among aluminum-exporting countries.

The planned expansion in smelter capacity to 145,000 metric tons by 1972 would make the Valco smelter one of the largest in the world outside the United States. Because the agreement between Ghana and the private investors and lenders was rather favorable to the latter, the plant's impact on the country's industrial structure and earnings will initially be more limited than its capacity would indicate. Ghana's foreign exchange earnings from the smelter, estimated at US$7 million a year, will be committed to repay the sizable official loans obtained for the Volta River Project from the United States government and the World Bank. The smelter was expected to employ about 1,100 Ghanaians, and Ghanaians were also employed in the construction of the dam and related facilities. There will be some continuing local costs, but much of the return to Ghana will appear in the statistics as value added in the sector of electric power rather than manufacturing. If the government can eventually attain realization of its plans for an alumina plant using domestic bauxite and create capacity for the production of aluminum products, the impact on the economy will eventually be greatly enhanced.

Another industry with potential significance for the economy was the petroleum refinery at Tema, built in 1963 and jointly owned by Ghana and by Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, an Italian state-owned oil corporation. The Ghana government will have an option to buy the corporation's 49 percent of the shares when their agreement expires in 1973. The refinery has an annual capacity of 1.25 million metric tons. It has replaced many imports of petroleum products but uses imported crude oil. With the heaviest state investment thus already completed, it could eventually serve as the foundation of a petrochemical industry and, if the 1970 offshore oil strike proves to have any commercial value, could some day refine domestic crude oil.

A number of major additions to the industrial structure have been completed or inaugurated since 1966, including a rubber tire factory, firms producing dry-cell batteries and wet batteries, a distillery, a cable and wire factory, and plants to make plywood and veneers, ceramic products, concrete spun pipes, asbestos cement, scouring powders, and medicated soaps. There were immediate plans for a major pulp and paper project, two motor assembly plants, and major extensions of capacity in food production, textile production, and small boat building. It is hoped eventually to find financing for large projects for production of fertilizers, caustic soda-chlorine, ferromanganese, and ferrosilicon.

Machinery and transport equipment, which constitute the heaviest imports for development, are not usually manufactured domestically. Fishing boats and pleasure craft have been produced since 1952, however, and domestic plants have been assembling trucks and buses from imported components. In mid-1969 two Lebanese-owned plants that had been assembling Japanese trucks began assembling Toyota passenger cars. An assembly plant for motor vehicles of Renault, Peugeot, and Leyland Motors was expected to be completed at Takoradi in 1972 and to employ 250 local workers.

In 1970 the government was seeking to create a more open market for manufactures in Ghana, within the restrictive context imposed by the continuing foreign exchange crisis. It maintained that domestic manufacturers had been sheltered by protection for too long, fostering inefficiency and limiting the range of consumer choice. The quality of domestically manufactured goods was poor and uncompetitive, and prices were far too high. If the country were to look forward to eventually exporting some of its manufactures, domestic producers should not be permitted to regard themselves as infant industries indefinitely.

ELECTRIC POWER

The Volta dam at Akosombo brought the country abundant electric power. It increased capacity to about twenty times what it had been previously. In 1968 electricity generated was about 2.5 billion kilowatts. Power from the dam had been used to bring the Tema aluminum smelter to full production capacity and had replaced local thermal power sources in the principal cities and mining and industrial centers. The hydroelectric station operated by the Volta River Authority at the Volta dam was completed in January 1966, just four years after work began, but lack of foreign exchange prevented full development of a nationwide power grid. Four years after completion of the station, its capacity was not being fully utilized, and most of the country lacked electrification. Even where power lines existed, the inadequacy of the transmission grid caused power wastage and severe voltage fluctuations. The cost to urban consumers was consequently not as low as had been anticipated, and the expansion of consumption was delayed.

Thus in 1970 the Volta River Authority had a problem of surplus capacity, which was expected to persist for some time. The Valco smelter at Tema, whose guaranteed consumption had made construction of the dam possible, was taking about 74 percent of production. An agreement was concluded in August 1969 providing for the construction of transmission lines to Togo and Dahomey with the aid of a Canadian loan. It was to be completed before the end of 1971 and would permit some additional exchange earnings from the dam.

Despite temporary difficulties with utilization, the authorities were proceeding with completion of extended capacity at the Akosombo system to assure adequate supplies for future industrialization. In 1970 two new generating units were being installed that would expand the plant to its full capacity of 882 megawatts, which was expected to fill the country's power requirements until 1977. A World Bank loan of US$6 million was to be used for extension of capacity in the principal towns and for the services of planning consultants to review the future organization and plans of the Volta River Authority.

DOMESTIC TRADE

The country's distribution system is characterized by well-developed but very small-scale entrepreneurship, with a high degree of competition, mobility, and flexibility. Trading is a labor-absorptive sector offering an occupation that requires a minimum of capital or education, and any number can participate. Numbers enter the sector every year from the countryside, and seasonal participation is common. In the 1960s traders constituted about 8 percent of the labor force. There were some 324,000 active traders; 86 percent of them were self-employed, and about 90 percent of them were women. Large-scale wholesale and retail establishments were primarily in European, Syrian, or Indian hands, and many medium- and small-scale retail shops were also operated by Syrians and Indians. The decrees of 1969 and 1970 are altering the situation in medium- and small-scale commerce to permit Ghanaians to take over (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages; ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). The large-scale wholesalers deal almost exclusively in imports.

Small-scale trading operates on a minimum of capital, very low turnover, and a low-income yield. Labor costs are low, and transport and storage losses may have been factors contributing to the spiraling local food costs of recent years, although the principal cause has been the measure of mounting demand or inadequate supply by producers. There is usually a degree of competition in domestic trading, except perhaps for certain areas where access may be limited and controlling rings may be organized. Under normal conditions the marketing aspect of the distribution system operates very effectively but, when food or other goods are in short supply, the large trader with access to storage facilities and with valuable connections may be able to use her advantage to raise prices. In the Accra market certain traders known as "queen bees" are known to engage in price-fixing agreements when the supply situation permits.

Only a fraction of domestic trade consists of store trading and the trade in imported consumer goods. In the Accra market only 25 percent of the traders handle imported goods. In the villages the small stores will sell imported foods on a very small scale to meet the needs of their low-income customers. Sugar is sold by the lump; cigarettes can be bought singly; and soap is sold in slices. Imported durable consumer goods, such as razors, batteries, and such wares as clothing, cosmetics, and medicines, are peddled by itinerant Hausa traders who make a weekly circuit of villages.

In the country as a whole in the mid-1960s there was one active trader for every 23 people. Most rural villages with a population of 500 or more have at least one small store, and there is usually one for every 200 people. Many villages have no market and depend upon itinerant traders or on the trips of villagers to urban or rural markets. In most such areas the quantities traded are small, and in the absence of roads the goods must be headloaded, limiting loads to sixty pounds or less.

The market women who handle most of the country's domestic trade are known as mammies. In the fish trade they are often the wives or relatives of fishermen, but in the produce trade they are usually independent traders. The tradition of mammy trading goes back at least to the early nineteenth century. Many of these women are illiterate; relying entirely on memory for their records, some operate on a large scale, perhaps employing a chain of buyers and retailers or even running small manufacturing enterprises. In some of the larger cities the best and most modern buildings are run by mammies. In the fish trading business some mammies own sizable freezing or cold-storage facilities and speed the catch to distant markets of the interior in mammy wagons.

Trading in local foodstuffs is by far the most important sector of domestic trade. Consumer expenditure on local foodstuffs is ten times the expenditure on imported foods. In addition, the trading network is necessarily more complicated, whereas imports are generally distributed from a few central points. At certain times of the year, the farm wives may engage in trading at the village level, but the bulk of the commerce in local foodstuffs is handled by traders. In the smaller villages surplus food not retained for storage may be taken in headloads to the nearest big market, and on their return the villagers will bring from the market foods that are not grown in their own locality. In such small villages the bulk of the food consumed is from subsistence production; anything sold locally will usually bring a much higher price than on the nearest market. Because of the inclusion of many of these items in the consumer price indexes, the index for rural areas has usually been strikingly higher than the food price index for urban areas.

In the late 1960s, when food shortages prevailed, food wholesalers were often combing the rural areas and sometimes purchasing crops before the harvest. These women wholesale traders often traveled long distances to more remote rural areas to collect the harvest and transport it by hired truck to Accra or other large markets. Farm wives or farmers do not usually try to compete in this trade, which involves bulk transport costs. There are also thousands of itinerant traders engaged in buying and selling foods and visiting a different local market each day, exchanging the produce of one locality for that of another or buying where prices are low and selling where they are higher.

LABOR

Of the total population at the beginning of 1968, slightly more than one-third, or about 2.9 million people, were considered to constitute the labor force (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). About 65 percent of these were thought to be self-employed persons. Wage and salary earners made up only 20 percent of the labor force, and family helpers were estimated at another 14 percent. It was thought that only about 4 percent of the labor force was skilled and perhaps 16 percent was semiskilled. Information on the occupational and industrial distribution was largely lacking.

Official estimates on the distribution of the labor force by sector of economic activity in 1967 gave 61.6 percent as engaged in agriculture, but this may have been an underestimate, with the real share closer to 70 percent (see table 11). Organized employment comprises about 40 percent of the nonagricultural labor force, or some 600,000 workers, half of them employed by the government or public sector. The rest of the urban labor force, estimated at about 800,000, was thought to be in petty trading and small-scale business (the most absorptive sectors); services, including domestic service; and other marginal employment or, in some cases, to be unemployed.

Unemployment was a mounting problem in the 1960s. With the growth of population, the labor force was expanding rapidly (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population). The trend was accelerated by the drift to the urban areas, which exchanged underemployment in agriculture for open urban unemployment. Because so few of the labor force were skilled, manpower shortages persisted side by side with serious unemployment. After the foreign exchange crisis of 1965 and 1966, the slowdown in the economy and the closing down of a number of uneconomic enterprises pointed up the unemployment problem. In the organized sector, some 80,000 people were laid off. Generally, however, employment remained stable in 1966 and 1967 and increased in 1968 so that the rise in unemployment derived from the growth in the urban labor force.

Including rural underemployment, estimates of aggregate unemployment in the late 1960s ranged as high as 600,000. Recorded unemployment was only a fraction of that because of the low proportion of wage and salary earners in the labor force and the limited registration of jobseekers. The estimates commonly offered ranged between 350,000 and 500,000, representing the number of those in the estimated labor force that could not be accounted for. The expulsion of aliens in 1969 and 1970 probably reduced the number of unemployed by leaving employment openings in some sectors, such as cocoa labor and petty trading, but unemployment remained a grave and potentially increasing problem. Assuming that organized employment could absorb some 20,000 workers a year, it is estimated that another 30,000 will be entering the urban labor force each year to find marginal employment in the unorganized sector or to remain unemployed (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

In 1970 the Ghana Manpower Board was being reorganized to coordinate employment policies. The government was attacking the unemployment problem by renewing expansionary monetary and fiscal policy, by reserving business and commerce to Ghanaian enterprise, and by increasingly emphasizing support to private agriculture. Labor-intensive construction projects were inaugurated in 1967 and 1968, and assistance was received for a vocational training program. There remained a danger, however, that development policies, particularly in industry, would favor less labor-intensive forms of activity. The manufacturing sector in particular, with its substantial surplus capacity at the end of the 1960s, was thought to be capable of greatly increased production without any material rise in labor employed.

The Labour Registration Act of 1960 provided that, with certain exceptions, recruitment of workers whose remuneration is less than N₵1,250 a year must take place through the National Employment Service. When the service is unable to find suitable workers, labor may be recruited from other sources. In 1967 the service had a network of forty-five public employment centers in operation, and it was placing about 4,700 persons a month. By the end of the year about 10,000 young people had applied for jobs each month in the larger cities, either through the National Employment Service or the special Youth Employment Service set up to aid literate school leavers. Only 7 or 8 percent of these applicants were being placed.

The statutory minimum wage was N₵0.75 a day in 1970. Average earnings did not increase significantly in the 1960s, lagging behind the cost of living (see ch. 6, Living Conditions). The Industrial Relations Act of 1958 was designed to promote the negotiation of wages and hours through collective bargaining. It also made it mandatory for trade unions to belong to the national Trade Union Congress. In the mid-1960s there were sixteen registered trade unions, each of which had three delegates to the congress. Each union is empowered under the act to conduct collective bargaining on behalf of a group of workers. The act also provided for conciliation where bargaining fails and for the reference of disputes to arbitration at the request of either party. Through the Labor Relations Division of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the government plays an important part in labor relations, assisting in the settlement of labor disputes and establishing minimum working conditions for workers in the country.

Until 1965 insurance protection was extended to workers in only a few branches of economic activity. There had been accident compensation legislation since 1940, and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1963 provided extended coverage for accident compensation, job-induced disability, or death. It applied only to establishments in industry or commerce and to those in agriculture with more than ten paid employees. The employer bore the cost. It provided for two years' support at two-thirds of the yearly wage or, in more lasting cases, for a pension equivalent to fifty-four months' wages. Survivors received the equivalent of forty-two months' wages. Since 1965 there has been broader insurance coverage for workers in establishments employing more than five people. It provides insurance for old age, disability, survivors, illness, and maternity. The insured contributes 5 percent of his earnings; the employer, 12.5 percent of the wages paid. It is operated by the State Insurance Corporation.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Ghana converted to decimal currency in July 1965, changing from the Ghanaian pound—then valued at US$2.80—to the cedi, valued at US$1.166. In February 1967 the new cedi was introduced, 5 new cedis being the equivalent of 6 old cedis. Since the 30-percent devaluation of July 1967 the new cedi has been equivalent to about US$0.98. There are 100 new pesewas in a new cedi.

The country's banking system is well developed. Besides the central bank there were in the late 1960s three commercial banks, the National Investment Bank, and the Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Bank. There was also a postal savings system administered by the Ghana Savings Bank. A banking bill approved in June 1970 set out guidelines governing the operation of banking in the country, including commercial banks, development banks, consumer credit companies, and cooperative credit societies. A bank's minimum paid-up capital must be equivalent to not less than 5 percent of its deposit liabilities or to N₵2 million for foreign banks and N₵750,000 for Ghanaian banks.

The Bank of Ghana, established on August 1, 1957, performs the usual functions of a central bank. It has responsibility for regulating credit in the banking system in harmony with the current economic policy of the government. It governs the rediscount rate and manages government issues of treasury bills and other securities. It administers the currency system and acts as bank of issue and redemption of notes and coins. It also manages the country's foreign exchange control administration. The reserve requirements for commercial and other banks, most recently established in a law of 1963, are enforced by the central bank.

The three commercial banks operating in the country in 1970 were the state-owned Commercial Bank; Barclay's Bank D.C.O., and the Standard Bank of West Africa—the last two with headquarters in London. The Commercial Bank had ninety-one branches throughout the country and one in London. Barclay's Bank D.C.O. had sixty-one branches in the country, and the Standard Bank of West Africa, thirty-four.

The National Investment Bank was founded in June 1963 and is jointly owned by the government and private interests. It operates as a development bank through its technical Development Services Institute and by providing long-term finance or subscribing to equity capital for the establishment of enterprises in industry, trade, and agriculture. The Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Bank, sponsored by the government, was founded in 1965 to provide low-interest, long-term credit to cooperative and independent farmers.

PUBLIC FINANCE

The fiscal year extends from July 1 through June 30. In accordance with usual international practice, there are two budgets—the ordinary budget covering current revenue and most current expenditure and the equipment budget including capital receipts and capital expenditure. The capital budget is customarily covered to a limited extent by a surplus of revenue from the ordinary budget, the remainder being financed by the use of any accumulated cash balances and foreign exchange holdings and by domestic and foreign borrowing.

Since 1955 there has been a consistent deficit on aggregate revenue and expenditure, including capital expenditure. The deficit was greatest in the 1961–64 period but has continued at a substantial level since that time, necessitating recourse to large-scale domestic and foreign borrowing. The pressure of public expenditure has not left much flexibility for using the budget as an instrument of redistribution of income or to moderate the business cycle. Nevertheless, it has been used as an instrument of policy by successive governments to the extent permitted by financial necessity.

In the 1961-65 period the Nkrumah government built up the country's tax base, concentrating its effort on income taxes, company taxes, and import duties (see table 14). Among the new taxes introduced in this period were the inheritance tax, property tax, excise tax, purchase tax, entertainment tax, hotel and catering tax, air travel tax, registration fees for importers, and a "voluntary" income levy on cocoa farmers. During these years the ratio of current tax revenues to the gross national product (GNP) rose from 11.8 percent in 1962 to 15.7 percent in 1965. During the same period, however, the rate of government capital expenditure was rising so rapidly that the deficit on the current budget increased steeply and was financed by the use of accumulated cash balances, foreign exchange reserves, and very heavy domestic and foreign borrowing.

After the change of government in early 1966 there was an initial decline not only in tax revenues but also in the tax base created during the preceding years. The new government abolished the property tax, inheritance tax, capital gains tax, entertainment tax, and registration fees for importers. It reduced import duties and the rates of personal income tax, company tax, and sales tax. Tax revenues subsequently declined from 15.7 percent of GNP in 1965 to 12.8 percent in 1968. Noncocoa revenues, which had stood at 11.8 percent of gross domestic product in 1962 and 16.4 percent in 1965, declined to only 11 percent in 1968. The new government's goal of combating the inflationary pressure of demand was thus to be pursued not by an increase in taxes but by the reduction of expenditure, particularly in investment. This effort was initially successful, but the effect on the economy was so severe that development expenditure was gradually renewed after mid-1967.

In view of the continuing burden of foreign debt and the inadequacy of private foreign investment and concessionary credits, the government thus recognized the necessity of reexpanding the country's tax base to create more domestic revenues for development. The company profit tax rate was increased to 55 percent, and import duties were expanded. In 1970 an import surcharge was imposed on a broad range of commodities (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). Special development levies were imposed on imports of rice, sugar, and cement. Excise duty on beer was increased, and new excise taxes were imposed on clothing, radios, disinfectants, and a number of other commodities. Tax administration was improved, and yields rose because of the higher cocoa price.

Table 14. *Central Government Revenue by Source, Ghana, Selected Years, 1963-69*

	Value*				Percent			
	1963	1965	1967	1969	1963	1965	1967	1969
Export duty on cocoa	29.2	19.7	34.7	98.0	17.2	7.0	13.7	29.6
Other export duties	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2
Import duties	68.2	107.6	66.5	60.0	40.1	37.8	26.1	18.1
Other production and expenditure taxes	23.5	64.3	64.2	73.5	13.9	22.7	25.3	22.1
Taxes on income and property (including fines)	22.2	58.9	52.9	68.0	13.1	20.7	20.8	20.5
Voluntary contributions	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sales and fees	19.0	24.7	14.5	16.7	11.2	8.7	5.7	5.0
Interest, profits, and rent	5.0	4.5	13.5	9.7	3.0	1.6	5.3	2.9
Grants	.....	2.1	0.2	0.6	.....	0.7	0.1	0.2
Other	1.6	1.4	6.8	4.7	0.9	0.5	2.7	1.4
Total	169.7	284.0	254.0	332.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Value in million new cedi. On February 23, 1967, the new cedi replaced the cedi at the rate of 1.2 old cedis per 1 new cedi. Through July 7, 1967, 1 cedi equaled US$1.16; since July 8, 1967, 1 new cedi has equaled US$0.98.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey, 1969*, Accra, 1970.

Table 15. Central Government Expenditure by Function, Ghana, 1965-69

	Value*				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
CURRENT EXPENDITURE:					
General Services:					
General administration	32.1	25.0	31.5	41.8	44.8
Defense	20.7	22.4	32.5	41.2	49.4
Justice and police	11.6	13.0	15.8	17.1	20.7
Total	64.4	60.4	79.8	100.1	114.9
Community Services:					
Roads and waterways	6.8	4.8	2.4	3.8	3.0
Water, sanitation, and fire	4.0	4.3	2.7	6.3	3.2
Other community services	5.0	4.7	4.7	5.1	5.2
Total	15.8	13.8	9.8	15.2	11.4
Social Services:					
Education	56.6	55.1	65.6	71.1	75.5
Health	18.1	13.9	16.0	20.8	24.8
Social security and welfare	6.1	6.9	9.3	24.5	14.4
Other social services	3.5	2.3	2.4	3.9	3.4
Total	84.3	78.2	93.3	120.3	118.1
Economic Services:					
Agriculture and nonmineral resources	20.4	19.8	19.3	19.7	21.1
Fuel and power	5.4	.....	0.4	1.0	1.2
Minerals, manufacturing, and construction	3.7	3.7	7.2	7.1	7.3
Transport, storage, and communications	7.0	6.5	7.8	8.0	9.9
Other economic services	.....	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1
Total	36.5	30.2	35.1	36.1	39.6
Unallocable Expenditure:					
Interest on general debt	14.1	19.1	25.1	26.7	29.2

General transfers to local government	2.7	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.8
Other	2.0	.....	0.3	.....	.....
Total	18.8	21.0	27.1	28.5	31.0
Grand Total	219.8	203.6	245.1	300.2	315.0
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE:					
General Services:					
General administration	19.1	2.2	5.7	7.9	9.0
Defense	4.7	3.1	4.7	4.9	4.5
Justice and police	0.7	0.4	0.8	1.5	0.8
Total	24.5	5.7	11.2	14.3	14.3
Community Services:					
Roads and waterways	6.1	3.0	5.8	11.4	12.1
Water, sanitation, and fire	8.4	3.2	4.1	6.0	5.6
Other community services	2.2	0.5	2.2	0.6	0.8
Total	16.7	6.7	12.1	18.0	18.5
Social Services:					
Education	9.4	4.2	6.5	6.2	3.9
Health	1.6	0.7	0.9	1.6	3.1
Social security and welfare	0.1	.....	0.1	.....	.....
Other social services	6.0	2.3	3.8	6.1	6.3
Total	17.1	7.2	11.3	13.9	13.3
Economic Services:					
Agriculture and nonmineral resources	18.8	7.4	6.0	6.5	4.5
Fuel and power	15.9	2.3	1.4	0.4	.....
Minerals, manufacturing, and construction	26.3	20.7	19.1	8.9	3.3
Transport, storage, and communications	15.3	5.6	4.4	3.4	2.1
Other economic services	6.7	2.4	2.7	1.0	0.2
Total	83.0	38.4	33.6	20.2	10.1

Table 15. *Central Government Expenditure by Function, Ghana, 1965-69*—continued

	Value*				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Unallocable Expenditure:					
Interest on general debt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
General transfers to local government	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.6	.....
Other	.....	6.0	.....	.....	.....
Total	0.5	6.8	0.4	0.6	.....
Grand Total	141.8	64.8	68.6	67.0	56.2

***Value in million new cedi. On February 23, 1967, the new cedi replaced the cedi at the rate of 1.2 old cedis per 1 new cedi. Through July 7, 1967, 1 cedi equaled US$1.16; since July 8, 1967, 1 new cedi has equaled US$0.98.**

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey, 1969*, Accra, 1970.

The domestic tax effort was still rather limited, however, in relation to development needs.

In 1969 the Tax Review Commission was appointed to study the country's taxation, with a view to improving the tax structure and increasing the hitherto limited role of direct taxation—income and property taxes—as a revenue producer. Beginning in 1971 it was also planned to reduce the share of the central government in cocoa receipts so that farmers would retain a greater share of earnings and the Cocoa Marketing Board would also receive a somewhat larger share to meet its costs for transportation and marketing. This would create a need to increase revenue receipts from other sources after 1971.

Since independence the level of government expenditure has grown rapidly. In 1957 total expenditure was equivalent to only about 16.4 percent of gross domestic product, but by 1961 it was 24 percent, and in 1964 reached a high of 26.9 percent. Through 1965 expenditure designated as capital or investment spending rose somewhat more rapidly than recurrent consumption expenditure (see table 15).

Between 1966 and 1968, on the other hand, investment expenditure was cut back in the effort to consolidate existing projects and combat inflation. Curbs on recurrent government consumption expenditure, however, were less successful, and current spending increased by about 7 percent a year from 1966 to 1968. Salaries of government employees rose; foreign exchange costs increased as a result of devaluation of the new cedi in 1967; and there was a host of ongoing expenditures on programs initiated earlier. Debt service was costly, and other important items included subsidies to education and to public utilities. At the end of the 1960s the most important categories of government expenditure were education, government enterprise and other economic support, and defense.

The tendency in the 1966-69 period was for recurrent expenditure to exceed the level proposed in the annual budget, while capital expenditures lagged behind the modest rate proposed. In its budget proposals for fiscal year 1970/71, the government planned to reverse the trend of the immediately preceding years by restricting recurrent expenditure and significantly increasing investment spending.

In meeting the gap between fiscal resources and public expenditure during the 1960s, Ghana contracted a public debt burden that in relation to gross domestic product is one of the highest among developing countries of the world. Most crippling to the economy has been the heavy foreign debt, which has produced a foreign exchange crisis and severely curtailed exchange resources for imports of vital development goods (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). The government's domestic indebtedness is also one of the highest among developing countries (see table 16).

In 1969 about 47 percent of the domestic debt was held by the banking sector, and 53 percent, by the nonbanking sector, including the Social Security Fund. Although the bulk of the foreign debt is officially defined as long term, most of it consists of import suppliers' credits repayable in six years or less, on shorter term than the financial outlook appeared to warrant (see table 17).

Table 16. Central Government Domestic and Foreign Debt, Ghana, 1960-69

End of year	Foreign			Domestic			Grand total
	Short term	Long term	Total	Short term	Long term	Total	
*Value**:							
1960	6.3	6.4	12.7	12.0	64.5	76.5	89.2
1961	10.0	6.4	16.4	34.0	74.2	108.2	124.6
1962	8.7	16.8	25.5	78.4	93.4	171.8	197.3
1963	9.6	28.7	38.3	84.5	190.4	274.9	313.2
1964	11.0	335.8	346.8	143.3	180.9	324.2	671.0
1965	11.6	366.8	378.4	199.7	207.4	407.1	785.5
1966	12.1	383.2	395.3	175.2	289.5	464.7	860.0
1967	15.1	468.8	483.9	179.9	334.1	514.0	997.9
1968	15.7	478.5	494.2	199.0	364.5	563.5	1,057.7
1969	6.5	489.7	496.2	222.1	382.1	604.2	1,100.4
Percentage:							
1960	7.1	7.1	14.2	13.5	72.3	85.8	100.0
1961	8.0	5.1	13.1	27.3	59.6	86.9	100.0
1962	4.4	8.5	12.9	39.7	47.4	87.1	100.0
1963	3.1	9.1	12.2	27.0	60.8	87.8	100.0
1964	1.6	50.1	51.7	21.4	26.9	48.3	100.0
1965	1.5	46.7	48.2	25.4	26.4	51.8	100.0
1966	1.4	44.6	46.0	20.4	33.6	54.0	100.0
1967	1.6	46.9	48.5	18.0	33.5	51.5	100.0
1968	1.5	45.2	46.7	18.8	34.5	53.3	100.0
1969	0.6	44.5	45.1	20.3	34.6	54.9	100.0

***Value in million new cedi. On February 23, 1967, the new cedi replaced the cedi at the rate of 1.2 old cedis per 1 new cedi. Through July 7, 1967, 1 cedi equaled US$1.16; since July 8, 1967, 1 new cedi has equaled US$0.98.**

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey, 1969*, Accra, 1970.

*Table 17. Composition of Government Foreign Debt, Ghana, 1963-69**
(at end of year)

	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Joint consolidated fund	9,646	10,994	11,588	12,116	15,136	15,746	6,517
Government stocks	2,340	2,340	2,340	2,340	2,867	2,867	2,867
International Monetary Fund drawings	10,178	10,178	10,178	33,912	44,604	67,109	67,095
Volta River Project loans	16,208	32,042	46,345	55,266	69,543	67,896	66,009
Suppliers' credit	n.a.	286,276	301,010	283,583	341,173	324,827	301,940
Counterpart funds	n.a.	4,956	6,902	8,120	10,662	15,809	51,759
Total	38,372	346,786	378,363	395,337	483,985	494,254	496,187

n.a.—means not available.
*Value in million new cedi. On February 23, 1967, the new cedi replaced the cedi at the rate of 1.2 old cedis per 1 new cedi. Through July 7, 1967, 1 cedi equaled US$1.16; since July 8, 1967, 1 new cedi has equaled US$0.98.

Source: Adapted from Republic of Ghana, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Economic Survey*, Accra, 1970.

CHAPTER 12

NATIONAL SECURITY

The group governing the Republic in late 1970 achieved its position of authority through democratic processes in the aftermath of a revolution that overthrew a government that had gradually eliminated or minimized such processes. A 3½-year period of military rule followed the coup. Since its assumption of power in 1969 the new civilian government had acted firmly but cautiously to prevent the growth of dissident elements that might have posed a threat to national stability.

In late 1970 a generally high degree of public order was maintained under the law. The effective national police force of about 18,000 men and women—a product of British tradition and training—carried out its duties with restraint and was respected by the public. To combat a rising trend in organized criminal activity in the urban areas, the government planned to increase police strength to about 20,000. The armed forces were given police powers to aid in stemming this threat to public security.

In the application of criminal law and procedure, however, sanctions imposed against offenders by the British-style courts had taxed the country's penal and correctional system, which included a total of twenty-six prisons and one reformatory. The new Constitution had established authority for improving the system and its generally inadequate facilities in late 1970; however, penal reform remained largely a goal because of economic difficulties and the conflicting priorities of national development.

The military establishment, with a strength of nearly 16,000 officers and men in 1970, assisted in the maintenance of public order and provided assurances of territorial integrity. Organized and trained along British lines, the armed forces were equipped from Western sources, primarily the United Kingdom and other countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Organized into an army of about 14,000 men, an air force of about 1,000, and a navy of nearly 1,000, the military establishment was well trained and well led; it enjoyed general public respect and confidence. The officer corps was entirely Ghanaian, and the remaining foreign technical specialists attached to the air force and the navy were not in command positions.

Of the three service components the army had the greatest operational viability. With the gradual acquisition of newer items of equipment to replace those that had deteriorated badly during the regime of Kwame Nkrumah, the army's efficiency was expected to increase. The air force had achieved a limited capability to support army units, and the navy was attaining a coastal patrol capability. All of the services were used increasingly in civic action programs.

After their revolutionary action of 1966, the armed forces achieved new importance in the Republic. In 1970 the military establishment, particularly the army, had emerged as a stabilizing influence. Together with the police, the military had become a firm, if latent, political force.

FORMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Respect for group authority, expressed in unwritten but binding codes of behavior, was characteristic of the traditional African societies that Europeans found when they first arrived in the area in the late fifteenth century. Since the mid-nineteenth century, however, traditional attitudes among a large part of the population have been affected by the increasing pressures of change.

During this period enhanced opportunity for education along European lines brought new personal goals into view and altered traditional living patterns. The introduction of British law imposed alien and abstract concepts of crime and punishment and new ideas regarding property. During the course of political evolution the secular power of traditional chieftains steadily diminished. Economic development modeled after modern Western patterns provided a major unsettling element as large segments of the population moved from a rural setting and its subsistence economy to the congestion of urban areas and a way of life based on monetary values.

The radical social, political, and economic changes that have occurred since independence in 1957 have reflected a period of social dislocation for much of the population. During the Nkrumah era the government and the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) made a determined effort to strengthen institutional and group controls over public conduct in order to develop patriotism and a Socialist ethic. In the process the political leaders sought to replace the traditional forms of social control—the family, lineage, and the authority of chiefs—with new institutional devices to support their objectives.

As the new modes of control grew more dictatorial and social unrest mounted, a radical shift in direction was imposed by the 1966 revolutionary action of the Republic's army and police. After Nkrumah's overthrow the national move toward socialism was abandoned and replaced with altered goals. New social control devices stressed a mixture of traditional values and some of the modern techniques that had proved successful in modern Western nations. By 1970 not all of these institutions had become totally effective, but the people were attempting to accommodate to the latest change.

INCIDENCE OF CRIME

The Ghana Police Service reports law violations in three separate categories: crimes, statutory offenses, and traffic offenses. Crimes are defined as violations of the Criminal Code and include offenses against the person, against property, and against public order. Statutory offenses are violations of specific ordinances, such as those dealing with arms and ammunition, the mining of precious minerals, alcoholic beverages, dangerous drugs, immigration, and labor.

Statistics kept by the police indicate that since 1959 criminal activity has continued to rise moderately. Statutory offenses have also increased significantly.

From 1956 through 1958 the police dealt each year with about 45,000 cases involving offenses under the Criminal Code. During the same period there was a 20-percent increase in strength and a wider distribution of police, accompanied by a rise in the population and the number of urban dwellers. Between 1961 and 1966 criminal activity involving police action rose from nearly 62,000 cases to more than 98,000, a rate of increase of 9.8 percent per year. Statutory offenses increased at the rate of 16.1 percent. During the same period the population increased at an annual rate of roughly 2.5 to 3 percent.

Theft and personal violence are the principal forms of lawbreaking. In urban areas the problem of theft is particularly acute. Many of the more affluent residents employ watchmen at night to protect their premises, but average housing is crowded and not easily secured. These conditions invite burglaries, not only of homes but also of warehouses and places of business.

Much of the personal violence of a criminal nature involves assault, disorderly conduct, and other forms of criminal harm. Murder, manslaughter, and rape have been comparatively rare.

A trend toward organized crime and gang activity, centered largely in Accra, Kumasi, and Sekondi-Takoradi, was evident in 1970. Groups of armed hoodlums, under what appeared to be a common leadership, beat and robbed individuals in lonely, ill-lighted places, robbed gasoline stations, and extorted large sums of money from firms through threats of violence. To cope with the trend toward increased crime, the government had authorized an increase in police strength, particularly in the three urban areas most affected.

In late 1970, with urging from the nation's press, the National Assembly under a certificate of urgency passed a prevention of crime bill empowering members of the armed forces to perform the duties of police. The bill conferred powers of arrest and search and the confiscation of property suspected of having been stolen. These powers were granted to all officers and noncommissioned officers with the rank of sergeant or above. Under the bill, military personnel have full powers to exercise all police functions dealing with the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the maintenance of public order, or the safety of persons and property. Full powers for implementing the bill were given to the ministers of interior and defense.

The largest growth in crime has been among males in the twenty- to twenty-five-year age group. Women are a small minority of the lawbreakers, but the rate has been rising. Juvenile delinquency and crime, mainly confined to the urban areas, have remained fairly constant.

Possession of firearms and the purchase of ammunition are regulated by license in accordance with the Arms and Ammunition Ordinance. Violations of the licensing ordinance are frequent, and the criminal use of firearms has been increasing.

Drug addiction and illegal traffic in narcotics have occurred at a relatively low rate. Beginning in the 1960s, however, the cultivation and smoking of *wee* (marijuana) became widespread. In late 1970 the police carried out a series of raids on what they described as a *wee*-growing stronghold near Accra. The plants were camouflaged in a field of pepper plants; a nearby plant nursery, which supplied the farm with *wee* seedlings, was found and destroyed.

Clandestine traffic in goods with high customs duties across the frontiers is common. In 1959 the smuggling of cocoa was made a criminal offense punishable by five years' imprisonment. Because most of the cocoa smuggling is in small loads over little-traveled trails, the government has found it difficult to control. Extensive patrolling of the border areas, requiring the assignment of many police in support of the customs officials, is the principal control measure. Transportation of cocoa is forbidden on certain specified routes near the frontiers; if detected, it is considered under the law to be prima facie proof of attempted evasion of customs regulations. In late 1970 the smuggling into the country of Afro-style wigs was increasing in frequency.

THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE

The national police are organized along British lines, are trained to British standards and, in their operations and relations with the people, conform to British concepts of law enforcement. Officered exclusively by the British for over a hundred years since its beginning, the service was progressively brought under the command of Ghanaians. In 1970 the commander was a Ghanaian, and only a few British police specialists remained in technical positions in the force. The service offered incentives for a career at least as attractive as its military counterpart, and there were many qualified applicants.

In their relations with the public, the police are firm but not harsh or repressive. Indoctrinated in modern methods, they employ force only as a last resort. Among the urban population, where police presence and activities are commonplace, their assistance is welcomed, and they are generally respected. In remoter regions, however, the police are apt to be viewed with suspicion as agents of a new order who interfere with customary ways of life.

Development

The first organized police in the area were established in 1830 by the British. Lacking any jurisdiction beyond the limits of the British coastal forts but determined to promote the peace and security needed for the development of trade, the British governor stationed constables as his agents at the courts of the principal traditional chiefs. Through these constables he kept the chiefs informed of his policies and, in turn, was given notice of any threatened disorders in time to intervene personally and avert trouble by negotiation. The entire force numbered only 120 men, but it achieved reasonably effective police jurisdiction over a limited area.

Under the Bond of 1844 with traditional authorities, the area came under official British administration and legalized this informal arrangement of police jurisdiction (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Thereafter British police power was progressively extended throughout the Gold Coast Colony as an instrument for the protection of individuals and property in accordance with the principles of British law.

During the war with the Ashanti in 1873 and 1874, the local police were reinforced by the Hausa Constabulary from Lagos, Nigeria, and further augmented by the enlistment of men from the north, mainly Dagaba, Grusi, Gonja, and Dagomba, who were held as slaves by the coastal Fanti (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Upon withdrawal of the British regular forces after the defeat of the Ashanti, most of these men were retained in the service and formed the nucleus of the reorganized Gold Coast Constabulary, formally established in 1879 as the principal security force of the newly annexed colony.

For the next quarter of a century the constabulary, in addition to usual police duties, carried out military operations against the Ashanti and dissident elements in the south and supported the extension of British influence into the north. In 1901, incident to the annexation of Ashanti and the establishment of a protectorate over the Northern Territories, a part of the constabulary was used to form the Gold Coast Regiment; the balance of the force was relieved of its purely military functions.

The Northern Territories Constabulary, organized along semimilitary lines, was formed in 1907 to assume the policing of the protectorate. Shortly after World War II, in a general reorganization, this force was assimilated into the Gold Coast Police, and the maintenance of law and order in the entire Gold Coast became the responsibility of a single colonial police force.

Under the program of Native Administration, started in the colony in 1883 and later extended to Ashanti and the Northern Territories, local police forces were developed by many of the Native Authorities. Although subject to supervision by district commissioners, they were for the most part inefficient. From the outset their jurisdiction was limited to petty cases coming under the cognizance of Native Courts and, for all practical purposes, they served only as supplements to the colonial police, who handled all important problems of law enforcement.

A program of modernization and expansion of the police, undertaken in 1950, was accelerated after independence. Important aims of the program were to replace British with Ghanaian officers, abolish all local police forces, build up an extensive radio communications network, improve mobility, and provide new police stations and other installations.

A women's branch was formed in 1952; a police reserve was established in 1956; and in 1958 Ghana joined the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol). In late 1958 a Ghanaian was appointed to command the service. By 1960 all British personnel below commissioned officer rank were replaced by West Africans.

By a law enacted in 1953, all local authority police were brought under the control of the central government. The ordinance gave the minister of interior power to establish or disband local police forces, regulate their activities, and appoint their commanders. In 1961 local police organizations were absorbed into the Ghana Police Service.

Mission, Organization, and Operations

The Constitution of 1969 established the national Ghana police as one of the public services. Under the Police Service Ordinance the national police are charged with prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law and order, and protection of persons and property. In addition to its internal security role, the service is responsible for the licensing of vehicles and drivers, licensing of firearms, issuing of permits for ammunition, and inspecting and testing of weights and measures. In late 1970 the strength of the national police was approximately 18,000 and was to be expanded to about 20,000 as soon as possible.

The president of the Republic—with the advice of the prime minister—has constitutional authority to appoint the senior police administrator, who has the rank of inspector general. Within the governmental structure, the minister of interior is responsible for the policies and administration of the police service. To advise and assist all governmental officials connected with police matters, the Constitution established a police council. This body consists of a chairman (who is a member of the Public Services Commission), the inspector general of police, a representative of the attorney general, the principal secretary of the Ministry of Interior, a representative of the Ghana Bar Association, and not more than three other members, one of whom must be a former senior police officer. The last three members are appointed to the council by the president with the advice of the prime minister.

Except for special functions, which come directly under the national police headquarters in Accra, control of the police is exercised through nine police regions, each of which is administered by an assistant commissioner of police. Eight of these police regions coincide with the country's administrative regions, and the ninth is responsible for police activities within the capital city of Accra. The regions in turn are subdivided into police districts, within which are located the stations and posts of the force. In 1970 there were 52 police districts and 558 stations and posts.

The national headquarters consists of the inspector general's office with staff sections responsible for administration, personnel, training, planning, welfare, traffic, and transport. Matters concerning pay and finances, supply, and housing are handled by the force quartermaster. Although licensing and inspection of weights and measures are carried out at the regional level, the central offices for technical supervision are part of the national headquarters.

Of the specialized branches the largest is the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), which is responsible for the application of scientific methods to the prevention and detection of crime. Elements of the CID at the Accra headquarters are the fingerprint bureau, criminal records office, photographic unit, fraud squad, and dog section. The services of these elements are available, as required, to the regions. Some CID members are stationed on detached service at the regional and subordinate headquarters, and much of their work is done out of uniform.

The wireless and communications branch is responsible for the nationwide police radio communication system, which is an independent, well-equipped network operated entirely by the police. The system is highly effective and permits close coordination and speedy employment of the dispersed elements of the force.

The transport and mechanical branch, under the supervision of an assistant commissioner, is responsible for the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles. The main workshop is at the central police depot on the outskirts of Accra, supported by regional facilities at Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi. In 1970 the police had nearly 700 motor vehicles, ranging from heavy trucks to motorcycles. An armored car squadron, with lightly armored British vehicles equipped with machineguns and radio communications, is available as a mobile reserve for use as a striking force in the event of serious civil disorder. The squadron is stationed in Accra.

The women's police corps, formed in 1952, has proved a valuable adjunct to the service and had expanded from its original 12 members to nearly 250 by 1970. Some of its policewomen are stationed at all of the regional headquarters, but their major activities are concentrated in the urban areas. Duties include investigation of cases involving females and juveniles, probation work, and traffic duty. Applicants, who may be either single or married, are required to have at least a middle school education and to pass a qualifying examination.

The elements of a horse-mounted squadron are divided between Accra and the regional headquarters at Tamale. The Accra element provides a colorful unit for ceremonial occasions and is also used for patrol and crowd-control duties. The Tamale detachment is employed extensively for patrolling.

A special branch, directly under national headquarters, is responsible for security and countersubversive operations. A police band, also attached to the Accra headquarters, provides ceremonial color and entertains at police service and other governmental social functions. Elements of a small harbor police unit, equipped with motor launches, are stationed at the major ports of Tema and Takoradi.

The railway police was established as a specialized branch in 1948 to suppress what had grown into widespread pilfering of goods in transit. The branch is responsible for the policing and security of the railways and also the dock and landing areas of harbors and ports. Detachments are stationed at Accra, Tema, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Winneba, and the important towns on the railways.

In 1960, in an increased effort to enforce the national customs laws, the police were given responsibility for armed patrol of frontier areas. Their duties are limited to the detection and apprehension of smugglers and the seizure of illegal goods. The Customs Preventive Service, an agency of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, shares with the police responsibility for civil security of the frontiers. Uniformed customs officers man the prescribed land, sea, and air ports of entry. They are assigned the mission of assessment and collection of duties and penalties and enforcement of customs and contraband laws, with duties that include inspecting shipments at ports of entry, boarding ships and aircraft, controlling ships and aircraft stores, clearing crews, examining and clearing passengers and baggage, and prosecuting offenders.

A distinctive feature of the police service, reflecting its semimilitary colonial origin, is the division of the enlisted men into two separate branches, known as the general police and the escort police. All of the general police are literate and, for entrance into duties of this branch, must possess at least a primary school education. They provide the personnel for station, clerical, and court duty; traffic and immigration control; and the many other specialties required by the force. The general police are ordinarily unarmed and are used on patrol and beat duty only in an emergency.

The two classes of policemen are readily distinguished by their uniforms. The literate general policeman wears a dark blue uniform, peaked cap, and black boots. The illiterate escort policeman is attired in khaki shorts and jackets, red fez caps, and brown boots. An exception to this distinction in uniforms is made in the case of drivers and certain other specialists. Although many are not literate in the English language, they may wear the blue uniform with identifying badges. Specialists wear the letter *T* (for tradesman) on their left sleeves; drivers display a miniature motor vehicle on their right sleeves.

Almost all of the escort police are illiterate on entry into the police service, but they must have a reasonable knowledge of spoken English. General aptitude for semimilitary service and ethnic origin in relation to the areas to be policed are also considered. Escort police are used for routine patrol; beat and guard duty; escort of prisoners and gold shipments; crowd control; civil disturbance control; and ceremonial duties. They do not carry firearms when on routine duties in urban areas. For other types of service, however, they are usually armed with light infantry weapons and are trained in infantry small-unit tactics.

At each regional police headquarters, a detachment of escort police makes up the bulk of a mobile force of company size, available for emergency deployment. A detachment equivalent to three such units, reinforced by additional specialists, communications equipment, and motor vehicles, was flown to the Congo in July 1960 for duty in Léopoldville, where it performed creditably.

Prospective candidates for the police service must be between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four and must be at least five feet eight inches tall. All must pass a medical examination. Almost all of the general police are recruited in the south, as are most army personnel, whereas the majority of escort police come from the northern regions. The highest rank to which a member of the escort branch can rise is limited, and members are encouraged to become literate in order to advance into the general branch. In 1970 police service plans envisioned the eventual abolition of the escort police as a separate branch when complete literacy of the force is attained.

Training

The police training effort is designed not only for qualifying recruits for police duty but also for continuation of professional education throughout the higher ranks. First established by the British and still guided by British doctrine, the system is strongly supported by the government.

Recruits for the general police are trained at the Police Training Center, which is part of the main depot at Accra. Escort police are trained at a subdepot at the coastal town of

Elmina near Cape Coast. Under a six-month program all recruits receive practical instruction in physical training, infantry drill, the manual of arms, baton and riot exercises, unarmed combat, first aid, and marksmanship with small arms. General and escort police follow separate programs of classroom instruction. For the general police this includes criminal law, legal procedure, and methods of investigation; for the escort police it includes general education and a thorough grounding in beat patrol and escort duties. Any recruit who fails to make satisfactory progress or whose character proves to be unfit for police duty may be discharged at any time during the course.

In early 1959 the Ghana Police College was founded on the grounds of the Accra police depot as a facility for training commissioned officers, who until then had been trained primarily in the United Kingdom. Candidates for officer training at the college are selected from outstanding members of the inspector grades. Their course of instruction lasts six months and includes criminal law and procedure, laws of evidence, criminal investigation, police administration, mapreading, drill and tactics, firefighting, first aid, and general subjects. The college also offers short command and refresher courses to members of the specialized police branches.

THE PENAL SYSTEM

The structure of the penal and correctional system and its principles of operation were established during the British colonial era, and by 1970 relatively few modifications had been made. Originally staffed at the top by British colonial officials, the system's administrators were gradually replaced after World War II; by 1962 all prisons were staffed entirely by Ghanaians.

During the period of Nkrumah's administration, little concern was shown for reform and modernization of the penal system. After his overthrow the ruling military government appointed a commission of civilian officials to investigate the system and make recommendations for its improvement. The commission's report, issued in 1968, revealed in detail the generally inadequate state of the nation's penal institutions. Largely because of national budgetary priorities, few of the recommendations for reform had been acted on by 1970.

Ministerial responsibility for the penal system has shifted from time to time since independence, but the operation is fixed by statute and is divided into the two main categories of adult and juvenile correction. The penal system proper is governed by the Prisons Ordinance, which lays down basic rules for the operation of penal institutions and the treatment of offenders. The Constitution of 1969 establishes a prisons service, whose director is appointed by the president with the advice of the prime minister. In 1970 the prisons director was responsible to the minister of interior.

The system for handling young offenders was reorganized in 1960 and was brought into line with contemporary rehabilitation practices. The Criminal Procedure Code spells out these practices in detail and assigns many responsibilities to the minister responsible for social welfare, who is also charged with the operation of the probation system for persons of all ages.

By constitutional authority, prison policy and regulations are formulated by the Prisons Service Board, consisting of a member of the Public Services Commission as chairman, the prisons service director, a medical officer of the Ghana Medical Association, a representative of the attorney general, the principal secretary of the minister responsible for social welfare, and three other persons appointed by the president with the advice of the prime minister. The last three members must include at least one woman and two representatives of religious organizations.

In an effort to assure the welfare and proper treatment of prisoners, the Constitution requires the Prisons Service Board to make regulations for the review of conditions in the nation's prisons at intervals of not less than two years. Reports of unjustified treatment of prisoners and recommendations for reform measures are constitutionally required of the board. The Constitution, however, does not elaborate on requirements of the government to act on such reports.

The prisons service is a career establishment with a promotion system based on training and merit; its members have retirement privileges similar to those of the other public services. In the late 1960s most of the prisons were greatly understaffed. Prisons service standards required one staff member for every three prisoners, but the ratio in many institutions had risen as high as one to five or more. Considering the structural nature of most prisons, this ratio was regarded as dangerously low from the standpoint of security and prisoner welfare.

Although understaffing remains a problem, the quality of prison officers and guards, called warders, has improved steadily over the years, and women are included in both staff categories. Prison personnel are recruited from all parts of the country, but a large percentage are from the Ewe and Ga ethnic groups (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups and Languages). Literacy was not a prerequisite for enlistment until 1966, when a minimum education through Middle Form One was required for all warders (see ch. 7, Education, Information, and the Arts and Sciences).

The service maintains a school and depot at Maamobi, near Accra, for the purpose of training recruit warders. The facility also offers a six-month training course for senior staff members, special courses for matrons, and preparatory courses for promotion examinations. At least one senior officer visits the United Kingdom each year to familiarize himself with the British prison system. None of the senior staff in the late 1960s, however, had completed university-level study in penology.

Since World War II installations have been inadequate for the proper housing of the growing prison population. By 1968 overcrowding in many prisons had reached as high as 100 percent, measured by an official standard of 360 cubic feet of cell space per inmate. Many of the installations were more than a hundred years old—old forts converted into prisons—and offered little in the way of modern amenities. From independence to 1970 a total of four new penal institutions had been constructed.

In 1970 the prisons service controlled twenty-seven institutions. Six central prisons for men are situated at Accra (Ussher Fort and James Fort), Sekondi, Kumasi, Tamale, and Nsawam. These installations are used not only for long-term prisoners and habitual offenders from the entire country but also for others convicted or remanded locally. Ussher Fort provides maximum security for the more difficult inmates. Two central prisons for women handle all offenders whose sentences exceed three months. They are located at Ekuasi near Sekondi and at Ho.

For short-term confinement of local offenders and persons under remand the central prisons are supplemented by fifteen small local prisons situated in the main towns throughout the country. Six of these have annexes for women.

Two open prison camps accommodate male convicts who have demonstrated good behavior. Built since independence, James Camp near Accra and Ankaful near Cape Coast were the only prisons in the system not suffering badly from overcrowding in the late 1960s. Both offer prisoners the opportunity to work at agricultural tasks and maintain reasonably well-equipped workshops for instruction in various trades. An eighty-bed hospital prison for convicts suffering from serious contagious diseases is also located at Ankaful.

The penal and correctional system provides special facilities for handling young offenders who have been sentenced to imprisonment or detention. The major installation, a reformatory modeled on the Borstal institutions of the United Kingdom, is located at Maamobi, near Accra. It has a maximum accommodation for 366 inmates, but in the late 1960s its average daily population was about 500.

Of the twenty-nine major installations inspected by the investigating commission in 1968, thirteen were deemed fit for confinement of prisoners sentenced to no more than three months' detention; nine were found to be unfit for human habitation, and their abandonment was recommended; and, because of their lack of facilities, two were judged suitable only as police lockups. By 1968 three local prisons were abandoned and turned over to the police.

Of the four new prisons constructed since 1957, total authorized accommodation was available for 2,300 prisoners; the average daily prison population was 3,300. In Nsawam Central Prison, constructed in 1961 to alleviate overcrowding, accommodations for 850 prisoners were occupied in 1968 by nearly 1,800 inmates. With the exception of the Maamobi reformatory and the two prison camps, all installations had primitive sanitation and bathing facilities, inadequate ventilation, underdeveloped programs of activity to occupy prisoners' time, and antiquated kitchen equipment. Except for the Ankaful hospital prison, few of the institutions had suitable medical services.

During 1966, the latest year for which detailed statistics are available, a total of 54,600 persons were admitted into custody: for penal imprisonment, 15,858; for safe custody pending trial, 37,088; for deportation, 1,302; and for debt, 352. About 70 percent of the commitments were for periods of less than six months. The daily average prison population was a little over 8,000, and the daily average for convicted prisoners was nearly 6,500. Of the total committed during the year, over 14 percent had records of more than one previous conviction.

Official prison statistics are not available for the years since 1966, but the 1968 inquiry commission found most of the prisons basically unchanged. Rising crime rates in 1969 and 1970 brought new convictions by the courts, which have been more inclined to sentence guilty persons to prison than to grant probation.

A stated objective of the prisons service is to promote social welfare by education and rehabilitation of lawbreakers in custody. The effort to reform prisoners, however, must be viewed against the background of the prison facilities available within the system. In the few prisons where workshops are available, inmates are taught skilled trades. Those whose terms of confinement are too short to learn a trade are employed in farming or fishing for prison consumption or in maintenance work.

Few of the prisons have adequate farming space because most of them are located in crowded urban areas. All but four were constructed before rehabilitation became a significant feature of modern penology.

Some prisons operate schools to give inmates an opportunity to become literate, and a few have libraries. Most have religious services for the prison population. Only the Maamobi reformatory offers a program of organized sports for its inmates.

Persons remanded in custody awaiting trial are segregated from convicted prisoners. All women prisoners, under the supervision of prison matrons, are confined separately from men. Youthful offenders sentenced to prison terms are usually placed in the reformatory unless their sentences are too short to justify such a move. In such cases they serve their sentences in a regular prison, where they are segregated from adult inmates when conditions permit.

The reformatory provides general education classes, industrial training, religious instruction, intramural sports, and group activities, including a band and a Boy Scout troop. After receiving apprentice training, the boys participate in a wage scheme under which they earn small monthly sums, half of which they must save. In preparation for release, home leaves and short periods of parole are granted to help in the adjustment process.

Within the correctional system, remand homes, probation homes, and industrial schools are operated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. Remand homes, where juveniles of both sexes may be temporarily held in custody by court order, are situated in Accra, Sekondi, Cape Coast, and Kumasi. Three probation homes are maintained: in Accra and Jacobu Ashanti for boys and in Kumasi for girls.

Persons convicted and sentenced to a period of police supervision (parole) rather than imprisonment are subject to a licensing arrangement. Violation of the terms of the license is punishable by imprisonment for one year. Upon convicting an offender of any age, a court may release him on probation for any period from six months to three years. Failure to comply with the terms of the probation order or conviction for another offense during the probationary period can result in the probationer having to serve the sentence for the original offense. The probation method of correction has been used sparingly, mainly for young persons.

THE ARMED FORCES

The military establishment traces its history from the British colonial era when it consisted solely of a modest army formed along infantry lines. Expanded largely for purposes of national prestige after independence in 1957, the army grew rapidly in size and complexity and was joined by a separate air force and an embryonic navy. The military expansion pursued by Nkrumah, however, was inconsistent with national security requirements and imposed a strain on the financial resources available for the development of the young state.

The military's primary task was that of aiding the national police in the maintenance of internal security. As later developments revealed, however, it was Nkrumah's intention to use the armed forces to support his government's foreign policy and particularly his own ambitious pan-Africanist aims.

Until the fall of 1961 British officers were employed in key positions because there were not enough qualified Ghanaian officers. Standing apart from political pressures, the chief of defense staff (a British major general) and his British assistants were able to exercise objective control and influence. The armed forces thus remained aloof from the struggle for political dominance during the critical period of transition to independence and unitary republican status.

Resentful of the opposition to his expansionist goals by his British military advisers, Nkrumah ordered immediate Africanization of the armed forces and dismissed the British professionals in 1961. Removal of the British from command positions destroyed an apolitical safeguard and exposed the military forces to political manipulation. Schooled in the tradition of British military academies, the officer corps quickly grew to resent Nkrumah's attempts to indoctrinate them with the political persuasions of his Convention Peoples Party (CPP). Moreover, they resisted his introduction into their midst of political commissars ranking equally with the officers to whose units they were attached.

Suspicious of a Ghanaian military establishment steeped in British tradition, Nkrumah set about establishing his own private army in violation of the Republic's constitution. He was aided in this effort by military advisers and equipment provided by the Soviet Union. Concurrently, he imposed close control over the regular forces in order to contain any possible opposition. From 1961 to 1966 the equipment, supplies, and general support for the regular army steadily diminished. At the same time Nkrumah's personal army, the President's Own Guard Regiment, expanded in size and received extensive support. Effective administration of the regular service units became difficult, morale suffered, and operational efficiency dropped considerably.

The officer corps of the regular establishment was composed of nationalists who were deeply proud of national independence. As the excesses of the Nkrumah government continued, the military leadership viewed with increasing alarm the threat to the Republic's viability (see ch. 3, Historical Setting). Sharing a marked distaste for the politicians in power—and particularly for Nkrumah—the army seized the opportunity given them by modern arms, disciplined force, and the president's absence from the country to take power into its own hands. Combining their forces, a small number of army officers and senior police officials planned and successfully carried out a coup d'etat against the Nkrumah government on February 24, 1966.

In April 1967 a countercoup attempt was launched against the military government by junior officers of the army reconnaissance squadron based at Ho in the Volta Region. Elements of this unit using light armored cars advanced on Accra during the night, and early the next morning they attacked strategic government buildings, the radio station, and the residence of the general officer commanding the defense forces. In the action that followed, Lieutenant General E. K. Kotoka, leader of the 1966 coup and a member of the ruling National Liberation Council (NLC), was killed. Intervention by other army units and lack of an organized purpose on the part of the mutineers subsequently led to the containment of the action and the arrest of the movement's leaders. After an investigation the two young lieutenants in command of the mutiny were tried by a military court, convicted, and publicly executed. Sentences of up to forty years in prison were passed on twenty-six noncommissioned officers of the reconnaissance squadron.

The countercoup attempt has been described generally as lacking in political motive but arising instead from discontent among junior officers. The trials did not connect the leaders in any way with the League of Young Officers, which had issued leaflets charging corruption in the NLC. Trial testimony indicated that the mutiny's leaders were probably guided by their convictions that the NLC, concerned with Ghana's precarious economic situation, would limit military expenditure and that conditions within the army, particularly with regard to pay and promotions, would remain static.

In late 1968 Air Marshall M. A. Otu, who succeeded the late General Kotoka as general officer commanding the armed forces but not as a member of the NLC, and his aide, a navy lieutenant, were arrested for alleged subversive activity. Both were charged with implication in plans to overthrow the military government and to bring about the return of Nkrumah to power. The government's case attempted to connect the air marshal and his aide with the operations of the two Soviet fishing trawlers seized in Ghanaian waters in October 1968 (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations). The two officers were tried by a military court and were acquitted; Air Marshal Otu was given a lower military staff position, and his aide was returned to duty with the navy.

No further incidents or potential threats to the military government came to public attention. After the resumption of civilian government in October 1969, the armed forces reverted to their traditional role of maintaining internal security and safeguarding territorial integrity.

Foreign Influence

National policy calls for nonalignment and the avoidance of military commitments with foreign powers outside Africa. The government has stated that it is entirely consistent with these policies to employ nonnationals in the armed forces and to accept military assistance from outside sources. It has made clear, however, that such actions do not entail any military obligations to the countries concerned. Apart from a military assistance agreement with the United Kingdom and a military training agreement with Canada, the government in 1970 had not concluded any formal alliances or joined associations involving military commitments. The Republic was a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In late 1970, largely because of OAU ties, the government-owned *Ghanaian Times* began advocating the need for African states to draw up a contingency plan for military assistance to Zambia in case it was attacked by Rhodesian armed forces.

The Republic has borne most of the financial burden of maintaining its military establishment, but it has been heavily dependent on foreign assistance for technical staff, training, and equipment. Despite strenuous efforts for self-sufficiency and the rapid pace of Africanization that has occurred within the armed forces, this dependence will continue to affect the military services for some years to come.

During the early part of the Nkrumah era all assistance came from the British, except for a small amount of aid from other Commonwealth countries and Israel. After 1961, however, Ghana sought a broader base of military support. New weapons were procured in Europe. A contract for construction of a new navy base at Sekondi was awarded to a Yugoslav firm. Aid was accepted from the Soviet Union in the form of training, small arms, naval vessels, and aircraft suitable for limited military use. Canada agreed to furnish a small training mission to supplement the British instructors.

Late in 1961, when British influence was drastically reduced by former President Nkrumah, the influence of Communist-bloc countries began to increase. Communist assistance, however, proved to be a mixed blessing to the members of the military who were trained and organized in the British tradition. Four hundred places were offered Ghanaian cadets in the Soviet Union's army and air force training courses in 1961, but less than 100 Ghanaians attended the 3½-year classes. Language problems were insurmountable, and after the coup those who had completed the courses were discharged from the service. Much of the Soviet transport and other infantry equipment provided to the army was delivered without spare parts. The technical and financial problems involved in mixing types of equipment were severe obstacles to efficient growth and operation of the armed services. Much of the equipment soon became inoperable and remained in a state of disuse.

A loan agreement signed with Communist China in late 1962 was intended to underwrite the cost of establishing two arms factories. Because of technical problems, however, the project was never initiated. Most Communist Chinese assistance was given in the form of training cadres assigned to four secret camps in southern Ghana, which were designed to train foreign insurgents for the support of Nkrumah's pan-Africanist aims (see ch. 10, Foreign Political and Economic Relations).

After Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966, the NLC expelled more than 1,000 Communist-bloc country technicians. A large number of these had been working on expansion of the airfield at Tamale. Fifty-four were assigned to the Ministry of Defense, including those who had trained and officered Nkrumah's personal army, the President's Own Guard Regiment. During its period of military rule, the NLC suspended all Soviet aid projects and turned once again to the British for training and equipment support. In 1970 the country remained dependent on Western sources for military assistance.

Armed Forces and the Government

Authority for maintaining the national armed forces is contained in the Constitution of 1969. The president is designated as the commander in chief of the military establishment with power to declare national emergencies, including war, subject to approval by the National Assembly (see ch. 8, The Governmental System). To prevent the sort of personal control of the armed forces that occurred during the Nkrumah regime, the

Constitution expressly limits the president's military powers. The document also forbids the raising of any armed force except by act of parliament.

Under the president the minister of defense directs the administration and activities of the military establishment. He is advised by the Armed Forces Council, which serves to coordinate the interests of the top civilian and military levels of control. The council is composed of the prime minister as chairman, the minister of defense, the chief of defense staff, the minister of interior, and two other persons appointed by the president with the advice of the prime minister. Actual administration by the military starts at the level of the chief of defense staff, who directs the three armed services. He is appointed by the president with the advice of the Council of State.

In 1968 the Defense Staff Committee was established under the chairmanship of the chief of defense staff to formulate professional advice on strategy and military operations for the three services. It also is responsible for evaluating the government's defense policy and coordinating its military implications with the armed forces. Other members of the committee are the commanders of the army, the air force, and the navy.

The Armed Forces Council advises the cabinet on all major matters of policy relating to defense and military strategy, including the role of the armed forces, military budgets, administration, and the promotion of all officers above the rank of lieutenant colonel or its equivalent. It must approve all military regulations and agree on such policies as those dealing with authority and powers of command, pay, pensions and other allowances, authorized strengths, authorized ranks, uniforms, and authority to dispense military justice. Although the president appoints senior officers to major military command positions, his designations must be approved by the council.

Several of the senior army officers who planned and directed the 1966 coup later wrote books on the military establishment's intervention in national political affairs. Since relinquishing control of the country to civilian authority in late 1969, these military leaders have repeatedly avowed their traditional apolitical convictions. At the same time, however, their writings reflect a political awareness and an abiding concern for effective governmental processes (see ch. 9, Political Dynamics and Values).

Manpower and Defense Costs

In early 1970 about half of the 1.7 million males between the military ages of eighteen and forty-five were considered physically fit for military service. With adequate numbers reaching military age each year, a more than sufficient level of manpower existed to meet general defense needs. The strength of the regular armed forces was approximately 16,000, or about 0.9 percent of all men in the military age group.

Manpower levels in the military have always been maintained by voluntary long-term enlistments. Even though the military expansion that occurred after independence called for increasing levels of manpower, men seeking to enlist have always exceeded the number required. Military service is limited to citizens of the Republic, but no distinctions are made regarding ethnic origins or other affiliations. Since independence regional origin has not been considered a prerequisite for military service.

In late 1970 various governmental officials advanced theories on the need for a program of national conscription. Although not based on the need for military manpower, these ideas were aimed at providing young men for service in the National Service Corps, an organization designed to assist the government in carrying out its program of rural development. Under the program suggested by the executive director of the government's Center for Civic Education, males above the age of eighteen would be conscripted and trained in civic action skills by the army. The National Service Corps, as initially conceived, does not represent a military or even paramilitary force, but it is administered by the Ministry of Defense.

Commissions are offered either directly from civilian life or upon completion of cadet training and may be regular or short service for five years with reserve obligations thereafter. Most officers for the technical services are appointed directly from civilian life on the basis of professional qualifications. Candidates for appointment in the combat or combat support branches are required to complete approximately two years of cadet training before receiving their commissions.

Enlisted men are recruited for particular branches of the service in accordance with specific needs. Original enlistments are for a long term, up to twelve years, with varying options as to active and reserve status. Reenlistments are authorized for a total of eighteen years. Service may be extended beyond this limit with the approval of the unit commander. Most applicants for enlistment in the technical services must have at least a middle school education. All personnel must pass a physical examination and be at least eighteen years of age.

The cost of manpower of the armed forces does not have any significant impact on the nation's economy. The financial outlay is modest compared with total defense costs during much of the Nkrumah era, and it has popular support. Immediately after the 1966 coup most of the expensive military programs initiated by Nkrumah were abandoned by the ruling NLC in the course of its economic overhaul. The size of the regular military establishment and the national police was maintained, but there have not been any signs of lavish reequipment. Most of the financial expenditures have gone toward replacement of wornout basic equipment and supplies required in performance of the internal security mission.

Unsuccessful attempts were made by the NLC to persuade the British government to provide new uniforms for the army in the form of grant aid. Nonetheless, since 1966 the government has made creditable progress toward solving the problems connected with updating its military equipment. Links with Great Britain, Canada, and the United States have been strengthened; these countries and others in the Western world represent possible sources of military assistance.

In 1969 the government of Prime Minister K. A. Busia expended N₵53.9 million (1 new cedi equals US$0.98—see Glossary) for defense items. Military costs represented 14.1 percent of the total national budget and 2.3 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). In 1965 and 1966 Nkrumah allocated less than 10 percent of the budget to the country's regular forces, an equivalent of about 1.6 percent of the gross domestic product.

The Army

In 1901, after the defeat and destruction of the Ashanti Confederation by British colonial forces and the assumption of a protectorate over the Northern Territories, the Gold Coast Regiment was formed as a component of the regional Royal West African Frontier Force to keep the peace throughout the territories of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. The regiment was organized, trained, and equipped by the British and was led by British officers and noncommissioned officers. Until 1917 the enlisted men were recruited solely from African ethnic groups in the Northern Territories.

During the two world wars the regiment, at greatly increased strength, was called on to support the British Empire outside the Gold Coast and distinguished itself in combat in Togoland, the Cameroons, East Africa, Ethiopia, and Burma. The Gold Coast furnished over 65,000 men for military service during World War II. Although practically all of the officers and many of the noncommissioned officers came from the British army, Africans became eligible for commissions toward the close of the war, and several were thus advanced.

At the time of independence the Gold Coast Regiment consisted of three infantry battalions supported by service elements. Army combat units were composed largely of men from the more remote northern areas—a consequence not only of lower educational requirements but also of a tradition dating back to the period when the Gold Coast Regiment was recruited deliberately from the northern regions. Most Ghanaian officers were from the southern areas.

The army's first test as the instrument of an independent nation in foreign operations came soon after the country became a republic. In mid-1960 three battalions under a Ghanaian brigadier joined the United Nations force in the Congo and served in the Leopoldville area and in Kasai Province. Upon returning to Ghana, the army units were forced to leave all of their equipment and supplies in the Congo. This loss produced adverse effects on morale and operational capabilities that persisted throughout the era of the Nkrumah government, despite the fact that the size of the army was expanded considerably.

In 1970 the army had a total strength of approximately 14,000 officers and men. It was commanded by a general officer who served from a headquarters at Burma Camp, Accra. The staff remained organized on British lines and operated in accordance with British doctrine. The components of the army were divided into field forces for combat, which operated under a tactical chain of command, and the supporting units and installations, which were controlled directly by army headquarters through staff directorates.

The field forces are organized in two infantry brigades, each composed of three battalions and support units. Each brigade has a reconnaissance squadron equipped with armored cars, an engineer field squadron, and attached signal and field medical elements. A separate paratroop battalion is available for attachment to the brigades as needed. Other supporting units and installations include a motor transport company, medical services, a general supply depot, an ordnance depot, an electrical and mechanical engineers' workshop, a pay and records office, and central training establishments.

The central supporting units and installations are near Accra. Battalion cantonments are widely dispersed through the country at Accra, Takoradi, Tema, Ho, Pong-Tamale, Tamale, Sunyani, Dunkwa, and Golokuati. Training facilities are located at Teshi (near Accra), Kumasi, and Tamale.

Practically all army equipment is of British or Commonwealth origin, much of which was acquired before the 1966 coup d'etat. Basic infantry weapons consist of small arms, including rifles, machineguns, and mortars. All are of standard

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) design. Combat vehicles in the reconnaissance squadrons are standard British types, offering light armor protection. One hundred jeeps were obtained from Israel in 1967. Motor transportation is also provided by British-made vehicles. Most of the weapons and other equipment obtained for use by the disbanded President's Own Guard Regiment has been unusable largely because of the lack of spare parts and other difficulties in maintenance.

The British-built system of logistical services deteriorated during the last few years of the Nkrumah era, and the regular army was forced to maintain its operational status largely through the personal ingenuity of its officers and technicians. In 1966 much of the army's equipment, including uniforms, motor transport, and communications gear, needed replacing. Remedial measures were instituted by the NLC during the period of military rule, and the new civilian government in 1970 was continuing to restore the army's logistical position as rapidly as the national budget would allow.

The army's directorates of engineer works services, supply and transport services, medical services, and electrical and mechanical engineers also serve the navy and the air force. Effective logistical services for these two military components are expected to be developed eventually.

Military training for all officer cadets of the army, the air force, and the navy is conducted at the Ghana Military Academy near Accra. Entrance to the academy is by examination, and the program of instruction includes military and general subjects. Duration of the course for army cadets is two years. At the end of the first six months, a few of the most promising cadets are transferred to the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, England. Cadets not selected for Sandhurst are commissioned upon graduation from the Ghana Military Academy and join their units. The academy also provides short courses of higher military education for the officers of the three services. The best of the senior officers are selected periodically to attend the Army Staff College, Camberley, or the Imperial Defense College, London.

Instruction for recruits, except some technical specialists, is centralized at the Armed Forces Training Center at Kumasi, which also trains recruits for the air force and the navy. The basic course for the army lasts nine months and is followed by advanced individual training in the unit. Because combat units are usually scattered at battalion posts throughout the country, unit training is mainly at the lower level. Battalion field exercises stressing guerrilla warfare and widely dispersed operations off the main roads are held frequently.

Specialist training is provided at the Kumasi training center or in Great Britain. A paratroop training program was begun in 1961, when a small cadre of Ghanaian officers and noncommissioned officers was sent to the United Kingdom to be qualified as instructors. The parachute training school is located at Tamale.

The army has participated increasingly in various civic action programs. In the mid-1960s it was active in the Volta River Authority's effort to resettle people who lived in areas of the country that were expected to be inundated by the rising waters of Lake Volta. Army units also have provided assistance in areas of seasonal flooding; they have recovered vehicles involved in road accidents, evacuated sick persons to the military hospital in Accra for the attention of medical specialists, and constructed a large number of bridges and roads in outlying regions.

The Air Force

The air force was formed in early 1959 under the supervision of Indian and Israeli officers. In mid-1959 a senior air commodore of the Indian Air Force established a headquarters for the service at Accra. The first group of flying cadets began training at Accra International Airport under instructors of the Israeli Air Force in July 1959; ten qualified as pilots in mid-1961.

Late in 1960 the training agreement with Israel was terminated, and the task of organizing and training the air force was assumed by the British. The first of a group of 150 officers and airmen from the Royal Air Force arrived in Accra at the end of the year. Their commander was appointed chief of staff of the air force, replacing the Indian air commodore. In mid-1961 the British mission was supplemented by a small group from the Royal Canadian Air Force.

In September 1961 a Ghanaian army brigadier was appointed chief of staff, and the Royal Air Force officers were relieved from command positions. The British officers and specialists remained in Ghana to assist with air force development and became part of the British Joint Services Training Mission.

In 1970 the air force had a personnel strength of approximately 1,000 officers and men, most of whom were Ghanaian. The few foreigners remaining in the air service were expected to be replaced as soon as sufficient numbers of Ghanaians attained the skills and proficiency required for certain technical jobs.

The service's primary mission is one of training for close cooperation with and support of the army. In addition to its defense role, it provides numerous services to other agencies of the central government. Helicopters and other light aircraft are frequently used in medical evacuation flights, aerial surveys, photographic missions, and similar work on behalf of the civilian authorities. Air force pilots fly missions in remote parts of the country to inspect powerlines and conduct aerial spraying for the Ministry of Health during antimalarial operations.

The air force participates in a search and rescue service directed by a rescue coordination center. Operating jointly with the army and the navy, pilots and planes of the air force provide a constant alert to assist civilian authorities in rescuing fishermen and other persons in distress. Airlift support is also furnished to the national police.

The inventory of aircraft in 1970 consisted of less than 100 airplanes, including a number of light and medium transports, light liaison aircraft, helicopters, and several light jet trainers. A single jet transport was used for special flights by high government officials. The jet trainers were capable of being armed and represented the service's only combat aircraft. All planes had been obtained from the United Kingdom, Canada, Italy, and the United States.

Command is vested in the air force chief of staff with headquarters in Accra. Main installations are at Accra's Kotoka International Airport, Takoradi Air Force Base, and Sunyani Airfield near Kumasi. A special flight of transport aircraft is based at Tamale airport to assist the army parachute training center. Construction was begun in 1960 on a large military airfield ten miles north of Tamale, as part of a plan to expand the air force and equip it with jet aircraft. After the 1966 coup d'etat the project was declared unnecessary and halted by the NLC (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

The air force is organized into two transport squadrons, a communications and liaison squadron, a helicopter squadron, and a training squadron. An element of the training squadron is designed to operate as a separate ground attack unit equipped with jet aircraft if the need should arise. The transport squadrons are stationed at Accra and Tamale. The training squadron is located at Takoradi, and all other units are based at Accra.

The main problem of the air force is to procure and train enough qualified officers to man the assigned aircraft. The requirement for nonflying staff and administrative officers is easier to meet but depends to some extent on the amount of support provided by the army and the use made of training missions.

Flying cadets are given a one-year preflight military and general educational course at the Ghana Military Academy and are then transferred to the flying training school at Takoradi. After completing a basic flying program, the cadets are rated as pilots, receive advanced and operational flight training at air installations in the United Kingdom or Canada, and then join their units. The entire training program for pilots requires about two years. A limited number of pilots to man the Italian jet fighter-trainers had received flight instruction in Italy.

Enlisted men are sent to the Armed Forces Training Center for ten weeks of basic military training. Thereafter they receive technical instruction at Accra or in Great Britain. The training at Accra lasts six months and is aimed at basic qualification in aircraft maintenance. After a period of practical experience in a unit, selected individuals are then given advanced technical training.

The Navy

During World War II the Gold Coast Volunteer Naval Force, which had been established in 1936, provided seaward patrols and was of assistance in keeping coastal waters free of mines. At the time of independence a new volunteer naval force was organized, with headquarters at Takoradi. It consisted of two divisions, each of sixty men. Training was conducted in the evenings at Takoradi and Accra by former British naval officers and petty officers.

The regular navy was formed in 1959. A former Royal Navy officer, on contract with the Ghanaian government, assumed the duties of chief of staff with the rank of commodore. Later that year the first vessels—two inshore minesweepers—were delivered by the British, and a program was started in Great Britain in 1960 to supplement local training. In 1961 the British commodore was replaced by a newly promoted Ghanaian army brigadier.

In 1970 the navy's personnel totaled nearly 1,000 officers and men. Africanization of the navy was nearly complete, and all vessels were commanded by Ghanaian officers. A few British officers served in advisory and training roles, but their numbers were gradually decreasing as Ghanaian naval personnel became proficient in the technical specialties required to operate the fleet's equipment.

The modest inventory of vessels included corvettes, a coastal minesweeper, seaward defense craft, coastal patrol boats, and a maintenance and repair craft. The coastal minesweeper, based at Tema, served in a dual role as flagship of the fleet and as a training ship. The corvettes were capable of surface, antiaircraft, and antisubmarine action and could carry out coastal bombardment to a range of five miles inland. With the exception of the patrol boats, which were obtained in the early 1960s from the Soviet Union, all vessels were of British origin. After 1966 the NLC canceled an order for a British frigate authorized earlier by Nkrumah.

Navy headquarters is located at Accra's Burma Camp, and naval operations are conducted from small bases at Takoradi and Tema. A third naval base is being constructed at Sekondi.

Candidates for an officer's commission, after completing a six-month course at the Ghana Military Academy, are transferred to the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, England, for a one-year course, followed by a year at sea in units of the Royal Navy. The first four cadets trained under this program entered Dartmouth in 1960. Because of the modest size of the navy, the need for officers is limited.

On enlistment, ordinary seamen are given ten weeks of basic training at Tema. Selected individuals may receive specialist training at the Takoradi naval facility or in the United Kingdom.

The navy's primary task is the training of its personnel both ashore and afloat. Its operational mission is concerned with patrolling the Republic's coastal regions in an effort to control smuggling activities and to prevent other violations of the maritime laws. Patrols are conducted to prevent unauthorized fishing in territorial waters by foreign fishing fleets. In 1966 the navy was instrumental in the arrest and detention of the Soviet crews operating two fishing trawlers within Ghanaian territorial waters.

The navy regularly participates with the air force in joint air-sea search and rescue operations. These operations also provide valuable training experience as officers and men learn to handle their ships in complicated operational situations. In the late 1960s the navy began participating in the government's program of surveying and charting the waters of Lake Volta for possible future development of the inland waterway's transportation potential (see ch. 2, Physical Environment and Population).

Reserves and Paramilitary Forces

When a large part of the army was deployed to the Congo in 1960, the Army Volunteer Force was formed for home service. In 1970 its strength of approximately 2,000 men represented the Republic's military reserve. Physically fit males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five are eligible to enlist, and ex-servicemen are encouraged to join as noncommissioned officers. Training is conducted during evenings, weekends, and short periods of attachment to regular army units. An element of the force is active in Accra, and other units have been formed in other urban centers.

Training and organization that could be turned to military purposes are provided by the Workers' Brigade, an organization formed in 1958 to help solve the problem of unemployment among young people and ex-servicemen and to concentrate attention on improved methods of building. By 1960 its size was less than 12,000 members. Israeli advice and training led to the brigade's being oriented toward the role of an agricultural army and committed to implementing the government's program of state farms. Originally the force was divided into two main sections—agriculture and works. A small ceremonial branch was used in parades, official government celebrations, and political party rallies.

In 1962 and 1963 Nkrumah reoriented the brigade toward a paramilitary role in his reconstruction of the state security system. In late 1963 military training was introduced into the organization, which then numbered less than 7,500; it was administered by a former policeman. In late 1964 the brigade's national commander was replaced by a former army officer, who introduced infantry drill and military discipline. The organization's structure remained separate from the regular army, but it was brought under military law in order to establish reserve units of the army within its ranks. After the 1966 coup the military regime dismantled the other elements of Nkrumah's security system, but the Workers' Brigade continued to be administered by the Ministry of Defense.

In the late 1960s a retired air commodore served as national organizer of the brigade. Its members enlisted voluntarily, received pay and uniforms, and were organized on a regional basis—one camp for each of the Republic's administrative regions. Under the new commander the national brigade's efforts were redirected to productivity and general national development. In 1970 the Workers' Brigade remained an unarmed force of about 3,000 men. Its mission was oriented toward civilian programs, but it nonetheless represented an important source of organized and partially trained manpower in the event of a mobilization.

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GLOSSARY

asafo—Traditional men's associations formed by the Akan peoples of southern Ghana. They were used initially as fighting units or companies; the term eventually was broadened to describe organizations of younger men who banded together in political opposition to the established rule of traditional chiefs and elders.

asantehene—Traditional king of the Ashanti.

CAST—Consolidated African Selection Trust. British firm with diamond concession in Ghana.

CPP—Convention Peoples Party. Founded and led by Kwame Nkrumah, it was the major political party at the time of independence; from early 1964 until the 1966 coup d'etat, it was the only political organization allowed in the Republic.

destool—See stool.

enstool—See stool.

extended family—A group consisting of two or more related nuclear families living in the same or neighboring households. In groups with patrilineal descent, extended family usually consists of a man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, and his married sons and their wives; in matrilineal groups, often includes a woman, her husband, her unmarried children, and her married daughters and their children.

huza company—Among the Adangbe, notably the Krobo, a group of individuals who pool their resources in order to acquire larger tracts of land for agricultural settlement; the company does not necessarily consist of blood relatives.

huza strip—A linear strip of land assigned to a contributing member of a *huza* company; some may be more than a mile in length.

huza system—The company system of landownership and use (see *huza* company).

lineage—A group of people who can trace descent from a known common ancestor. Some Ghanaian ethnic groups are matrilineal in that they trace descent from a woman exclusively through women; in other groups descent is traced exclusively through men, hence a patrilineage.

new cedi (NC)—Basic unit of Ghanaian currency. On July 8, 1967, the cedi was devalued from C1 equals US$1.40 to NC1 equals US$0.98. The new cedi is divided into 100 new pesewas (NP).

NLC—National Liberation Council. The group of senior army and police officers that served as the government of Ghana from February 24, 1966, until October 1, 1969.

nuclear family—A man, his wife, and their unmarried children.

stool—Among Akan groups (Ashanti and others) the symbol of a chief's authority and legitimacy. The chief sits on, or occupies, the stool only figuratively; an individual assuming the position of chief is said to be enstooled; when deposed, he is destooled. The stool may be elaborately carved or embellished with gold and precious stones. The idea and symbol have spread to many non-Akan groups and have been used by colonial and independence governments to refer to the processes of installing and deposing traditional authorities. Among northern (Gur) groups, the equivalent symbol of authority is the skin.

zongo—Term used to describe the sections in many Ghanaian towns occupied chiefly by Muslims of non-Ghanaian origin; other non-Ghanaians often live in these sections as well. Literally means "strangers' quarter."

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